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THE "PARTY OF PROGRESS."

LETTER TO A RADICAL MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

BY PARKER PILLSBURY.

My Dear Sir: Your favor is at hand. It must be only undue loyalty and fidelity to your party, when you speak of it as "*both a generous and progressive party.*" Deeper down in the strata of conscience and the soul, you cannot, I think, so regard it. To go no farther back than the Chicago Platform, its record warrants no such estimate of it. The widest and most important plank in that platform rotted out before the Inauguration of the President. And then the Inaugural Address, spoken as it specially was to insurgents and rebels, already bristling in arms, was to me monstrous and diabolical. What did you yourself think of the words "Express and Irrevocable" in it, when spoken of slavery, its guarantees and perpetuity?

But rebellion and treason would not be appeased, and so on swept the war. Interference with Gen. Fremont in Missouri, over whose Proclamation all the loyalty in the land exulted, added at least three years and three hundred thousand lives to the slaughter. Dallying with Gen. McClellan cost more than ninety thousand unnecessary deaths. And the best men of the war, too, they were; the first to leap to arms. Not the drafted, the conscripts, the bribed with high bounties, the substitutes, the deserters; not the blood or the corpses of these made or mingled with the mud of Chickahominy.

The war (into which we mustered more than two millions and six hundred thousand men) changing (not ending) by the capitulation of Lee and Johnston, then came attempted restoration of the broken Union and Government. President Lincoln's speech on Reconstruction—the last, I think, he ever made—showed how little he comprehended still less commanded the situation; or understood the Mystery of the War. Senator Sumner, by strategy, checkmated his policy in the Senate, and so for that time the country was saved. But, alas for Mr. Lincoln! he was not saved.

At his Inauguration, Andrew Johnson favored suffrage for two classes of colored men. So he told Senator Sumner. Later in the year, he assured Maj. Stearns, of Boston, that, were he in Tennessee, he would favor extending it to three classes—the soldiers of the late war, the schooled, and the owners of real estate. The New York *Herald* proposed to add a fourth class—the members in regular standing of Christian churches.

Just then, Massachusetts held her State Convention, in Worcester, to nominate the successor of Gov. Andrew. Mr Sumner presided, and on National Affairs a resolution was adopted declaring that "*Massachusetts has no theory of suffrage to propose.*" To propose to whom? To whom but the rebel States? The President had a theory. Parson Brownlow had a theory. The New York *Herald* had a theory. Connecticut soon after acted directly on the question of colored suffrage; and, as if taking the key-note from Massachusetts, by a majority of more than six thousand (tell it not in Richmond, publish it not in the streets of New Orleans!) by a majority of more than six thousand, she declared that not even one of President Johnson's classes, the spared remnants of her brave colored regiments, should have a vote in a government that so many of their brethren had died to defend! Could dastard meanness farther go? It was a Republican majority, remember, that did it. No "*copperhead*" (I never call men copperheads) work was this. Against the Democratic party, united Republicanism at that time would have been invincible. New York has just shamelessly shirked the issue for the present, in her Constitutional Convention. Ohio, the home of Giddings, of Ben. Wade, Samuel Lewis and Salmon P. Chase, goes remorselessly with Connecticut, only by a far more stunning majority.

All last winter, the Thirty-ninth Congress dragged its slow length along, at vast expense, but to little purpose. The session opened with what proved only great swelling words of vanity. Old Thad. Stevens had said the year before, that the Dred Scott decision with its doctrine of a white man's government, "had damned the soul of its author to everlasting fame, and he feared to everlasting fire!!" Sumner also smote the Senate with a two days' tornado of eloquence, in a single speech, on the same general subject. And yet both those Ajaxes in the cause of the black man's rights, scarcely more than a month afterwards, advocated, and voted for a change in the Federal Constitution, giving the rebel States the right to disfranchise all their colored citizens, and even *to enslave any of them for life*, as a penalty for crime, provided they would not count them in their basis of representation in Congress, so as to give themselves a power in the government not shared alike with the North. And they baptized that change in the Constitution by the good name of "Amendment!" Unamended, it disfranchised nobody. On the contrary, at the time, and on the question of its adoption, colored men voted in nearly every State, North and South. Now, the majority can disfranchise the minority in any State, without regard to color or race, only by counting them out of the basis of representation. Such is the present Constitution, "*amended*" under the direction of Messrs. Sumner, Stevens, and a so-called "*radical*" Congress and party.

The session last Winter was exhausted in farther attempts at Reconstruction, including some windy threats of impeaching the President. At the preceding Fall elections the most radical wing of Congress had been strengthened and sustained, even the threatened impeachment evidently finding favor with the people; and Ben. Butler as its champion, was the most popular man. But nothing was effected up to the 20th of December, when an adjournment was carried to the 5th of January. Such gigantic labors in three weeks required, so both houses judged, almost three other weeks for holidays.

At nearly the eleventh hour of the session, the Military Reconstruction bill, with many pangs, veto and others, was brought forth and made a law. Congress itself, however, so far disapproved its own work on second sight, as to make farther explanatory enactments, which also passed the veto ordeal. Assured now that its work was done, and well done, as some said, "could be warranted well done," and the nation saved, it again adjourned, to bask with its constituencies in the Paradise Regained.

But the Attorney-General, bad as another Beelzebub, invaded their Eden. His interpretation of the Reconstruction acts brought death again into the new world of hope, and with it all imaginary woes.

And so in July heat, with cholera impending, Congress reluctantly scampered back to Washington to drive out the serpent, and re-enforce the gates with other guardian angels and more double flaming swords. The President kindly consented (so the papers said), at the earnest request of Congress, cholera threatening, to have the veto-making, like the cover to a box, while they made the law. And the whole was to be done by a given, and that no distant hour.

The President was tardy, but so was the cholera, and the whole business was dispatched without the tolling of one funeral knell; and the country was now saved beyond all need of insurance policies. Congress again breathed freely, and once more adjourned.

But other plagues were in store. New vials were to be uncorked. Scarcely had the last Senator left the Capital, before Secretary Stanton was hurled headlong after him, spite of all tenure or other bills to the contrary. Sheridan and Sickles soon followed, Gen. Grant lending himself pliantly to the work, the willing lacquey of the President. Clerks in lower stations were marched off by platoons, and all that remain are held by a new and special edict, to observe all the Presidential requirements. And to-day we are confidently assured from Mr. Johnson's own month, that before the assembling of Congress he "will make an entire change in his Cabinet." Whether it shall be so or not, the President is master of the situation. And so the South is victorious. Can you wonder, then, at the defiant thunders of Kentucky? Is it a mystery that Montana, Colorado, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Maine are deserting a banner that conducts them only to nothing, or to far worse? Nor, it seems to me, can you comfort yourself that there are no real Democratic gains. It may be so. Republicans, and many of your new Democratic allies, staid away from the polls in disappointment and disgust. I speak what I know of many places. Neither is there consolation for you that there were great Democratic successes years ago, from which your party soon after leaped to new victories. For at that time the cowardice and corruption of Republican leaders and office-holders were not revealed as now. But at last the people are waking and wondering as never before. Cheerfully and loyally they trusted their leaders and law-makers last year, and re-elected the most radical of them, wherever Congressional elections occurred.

Now, in the face of all that has been done in the XXXIXth Congress, and in the XLth so far, Republicans are asking, to what purpose is all our devotion to party? And who does not ask to what purpose? Professions and promises, threats, brag and bluster have had their day. I tell you, my friend, the people have been deceived too long.

You say the Financial question should now give us most concern. I quite agree with you as to its perilous importance; and all the more readily, seeing the sad work made and making of it hitherto, in the hands to which it is, and has been entrusted. Who knows to-day the actual extent of the nation's liabilities, in Federal, State, County, City, and Town indebtedness? Is any other nation half so heavily taxed in the civilized world, as is this? And who doubts that the present Congress would assume and pay the rebel debt, as, twenty years ago, another did the debt of Texas? Let it be funded, as was the debt of Texas, and offered to Congress for only a nominal price, and who would dare be bail that the present body would be more immaculate than was that in the case of Texas! Congress, we were told, bought the ten millions of Texas debts for rather more than nothing, and then voted to pay them, of course. *The like might happen again.*

You speak of a "new party," when yours "shall have grown too wicked for longer endurance." It is so already. How dare its leaders ask honest men of any party for their longer support? There must be *brazen faces*, as well as "copper heads." And then the weakness, the cowardice, the imbecility of most of them are as hard to forgive as their wickedness. And so I long to see the party displaced by one immeasurably better. My hopes and wishes, and almost all my friends, including every adult relative, remote and near, on the side of both father and mother, were long with it, and would have been to this moment had it been found worthy. You have long known my estimate of the Democratic party. As Babylon was drunk on the blood of the saints, so was that party on the sweat, the tears, the blood of slavery, until the wrath of Jehovah stove down its grim idol, with its altars, let us hope, to be recovered no more. And the party itself seemed almost whelmed in the general cataclysm. Dismal indeed will be the day when the still greater infamy of the Republican party shall restore it again to power! an event now scarcely more to be dreaded than expected.

O, no, sir! the Republican party has proved itself neither "generous" nor "progressive." That it should have done so, was not more your desire than mine. But what generous or progressive deed has it ever done? Or what brave word spoken and maintained? From Mr. Lincoln's inauguration to his assassination, it was his boast that he never interfered with slavery but by the sternest "Military Necessity." And this, too, was the pride and glory of his party. With a million of men under arms, or under the clods of many valleys, he wrote Horace Greeley that he "was not prosecuting the war to abolish slavery, but to save the Union;" and added, "If I can save the Union *without emancipating any slave, I will save it so*; or, to save the Union, I would free a part or all of the slaves." But the slave was to be no party to the transaction. He had no rights which anybody was bound to respect. The army was not to be consulted. The President virtually said, "I will weld a million brave young men of the North into one thunderbolt and fling it against the rebellion, and if it go down before it, there shall not a hair on the head of slavery perish! The streets of New York and New England may be gloomy with mourning, but no rebel planter shall be despoiled of a single slave." Call you this "*generous*," my friend? Or is such Republican "progression?" Gens. Fremont, Hunter, Butler, Phelps, all liberated or armed slaves, or both, and would have used them in the Union cause. But all these were reprimanded, or relived of command, or both; while Halleck and McClellan, who proved more than kings of terror to the enslaved, were each in turn called to Washington and placed at the head of the army. Have you forgotten this history? or will you call it "generous and progressive?"

At last, when we had actually mustered into service almost two millions of men, and sacrificed more than two hundred thousand of them to save, *not the slaves*, but the nation, ourselves, our government, our Union, our union with slaveholders, we spoke the word Freedom. Was there "generosity" in this, whereof to boast?

And now, as the crowning act of "generosity and progress," for which the party should, in your esteem, be perpetual, immortal, colored suffrage must be forced on the South, where the colored people are of course more or less ignorant and degraded, while in Connecticut, Ohio, and perhaps New York, where nearly all are intelligent, and many highly cultivated, refined and wealthy, they are to be still robbed of that, to every white American citizen, most priceless boon, the ballot—the badge and glory of Freedom? You will not deny that this is only to save the party. It has nothing in it of "generosity or progression."

Let me say, in one word, I now class both political parties, as parties, together. That both contain good men I know. And I long to see the new Phœnix that I hope is yet to rise in strength and honor from their ashes, bringing suffrage, citizenship, all civil, political, educational, economical and religious rights and privileges, regardless alike of race, complexion or sex.

Faithfully and fraternally, yours—even to differ,

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Concord, N. H., Oct. 20, 1867.

NASBY ON THE OHIO ELECTION.

Mr. Nasby assists in the Ohio Election. He writes of the defeat of the Amendment, and "how it was received at the Corners:"

POST OFFIS, CONFEDRIT X ROADS,
(Wich is in the Stait uv Kentucky.)
Oct. 12, 1867.

* * * * * * *

I never saw sich enthoosiasm, or more cheerin indicashuns uv the pride uv race. Ez evidence uv the deep feeling that pervaded that community, I state that nine paupers in the poor-house demanded to be taken to the polls that they might enter their protest agin bringin the nigger up to a ekality with them, wich wuz nine gain with no offsets, ez there wuznt an Ablishnist in the institooshun. Two men in the county jail for petty larceny wuz, at their own rekest, taken out uv doorace vile by the Sheriff uv the county, that they mite, by the ballot, protest agin bein degraded by bein compelled, when their time wuz out, to acknowledge the nigger ez their ekal. One enthoosiastic Dimekrat, who cost us $5, hed to be carried to the polls. He hed commenced early at one of the groseries, and hed succumbd afore votin. We found him sleepin peacefully in a barn. We lifted the patriotic man, and in percession marched to the polls. We stood him on his feet, two men supportin him—one on either side. I put a straight ticket into his fingers, and takin his wrist with one hand, held his fingers together with tother, and guided his hand to the box. Ez it neared the winder, he started ez ef a electric shock hed struck him, and straightenin up, asked:

"Is it the shtrate ticket? Is Constooshnel Amindmint No! onto it?"

Ashoorin him that all wuz rite, he suffered me to hold his hand out to the Judge uv Elecshun, who took the ballot and deposited it in the box. "Thank Hivin!" sed he, "the nagur is not yet my ayquil," and doublin up at the thigh and knee joints, he sunk limber-like and gently onto the ground. Ez he hed discharged the duty uv an Amerikin freeman, we rolled him out to one side uv the house, wher the drippin uv the rain from the roof would do suthin toward soberin him off, and left him alone in his glory.

The Amendment got but very few votes in that lokality. The Republicans jined us in repudiatin it, mostly upon ethnologikle grounds. One asserted thet he hed been in favor uv emancipashen in time uv war, becos the Afrikin cood thereby be indoost to fite agin their southern masters, and it wood hev the effeck of makin the drafts cum lighter in his township. He was a humanitarian likewise. He opposed croolty toward em. He wept when he heerd uv the massacre at Fort Piller, becoz in the army the nigger wuz ez much a man ez ennybody, and sich wholesale slaughters tended to make calls for "500,000" more frekent. But, when it come to givin uv em the privilege uv votin beside him, it coodent be thot uv. He cood never consent that a race whose heels wuz longer than bizzen, shood rool Amerika. "My God?" sed this ardent Republikin, "ef you giv em the ballot, what kin prevent em from bein Congrismen, Senators, Vice-Presidents, and even Presidents? I shudder when I think of it," and he hurried in his vote.

I didn't quite see the force uv his objecshun, for it never okkurred to me that bein sent to Congris wuz the nateral consekence uv votin. I hev voted for thirty years, at many elections four or five times, but I hev never bin to Congris. Wher is the constitoocncy wich wood elect me? But it wuzn't my biznis to controvert his posishen. It made no difrence to me wat his reason wuz for votin ez I desired him to vote.

The nigger-lovers beat up one man to vote for the Amendment, wich, I saw by his dissatisfied look, hed bin over-perswaded. "Sir!" said I, "do yoo consider a Afrikin suffishently intelligent to be trusted with so potent a weppon ez the ballot?"

Bustin away from them wich hed him in charge, he exclaimed, "No, I dont. I can't vote for it. They ain't intelligent enuff. Sir, scratch off the 'Yes' from my ballot, and put onto it 'No!'"

"Here is a pensil," sed I.

"Do it yerself," sed he, "I can't write."

And I did it. Sich is the effeck uv a word in season. Words fitly spoken is apples of gold, set in picters of silver.

One man woodent listen to me, but voted the Amendment. He hed bin a sojer, and for eleven months pertook uv the hospitality uv the Confederits, at Andersonville. Escapin, he wuz helped to the Fedrel lines by a nigger, who wuz flogged almost to death in his site, for not betrayin wher he wuz hid. I might ez well have talked to a lamp post. Ez he shoved in his ballot, he remarkt suthin about he'd ruther see a nigger vote than a d—d rebel, any time. From the direckshun uv his eye site, I persoome he referred to me.

I left for home ez soon ez the votes wuz counted, and the result wuz made known, only waitin till the poll books wuz made out, and the Judges uv eleckshun hed got ther names written by the clerks; and hed made ther marks to em. On my way home I wuz gratified to see how the nateral antipathy to the nigger hed revived.

At Cincinnati the nite uv the eleckshun they wuz banging uv em about, the patriotic Democrisy goin for em wherever they cood find em, and the next day as I saw em at the ralerode stashens, they hed, generally speakin, their heads bandaged. It wuz cheerin to me, and I gloated over it.

Full uv gladnis, I entered Kentucky, and joyfully I wendid my way to the Corners. I wuz the bearer uv tidins uv joy, and my feet wuz pleasant onto the mountains. Ez I walked into Bascom's, they all saw in my face suthin uv importance.

"Wat is it?" sed Deckin Pogram, "is it weal or woe?"

"Is the proud Caucashen still in the ascendant in Ohio, or ez the grovelling Afrikin ground him into the dust?" askt Isaker Gavit.

"My friend," said I, taking up the Deckin's wich, in the eggscitement of the moment, he didn't observe, "the Constitooshenel Amendment, givin the nigger ekal rites, hez been voted down by the liberty-lovin freemen of Ohio. Three cheers for Ohio."

They wuz given with a will. The wildest enthoosiasm wuz awakened. Bascom put a spigot in a fresh barl, and the church bells wuz set a ringin. The niggers wore a dismayed look, and got out uv the way ez soon ez possible. A meetin wuz wunst organized. Deckin Pogram spoke. He felt that this wuz a proud day. Light wuz breakin. The dark clouds uv fanaticism wuz breakin away. We had now the Afrikin under our feet. We hev got him in his normal posishen in Ohio, and, please God, we will soon have him likewise in Ketucky. He moved the adopshun of the follerin resolooshens:

Wareas, Noer cust Canan and condemned him to be a servant unto his brethren, thereby clearly indikatin the status uv the race for all time to cum to be one uv inferiority; and

Wareas, To further show to the eyes uv the most obtoose that a difference wuz intended the Almighty gave the nigger a different anatomicle struckter, for full particulars uv wich see the speeches uv the Demokratic stumpers doorin the late campaign; and,

Wareas, The attempt to place the nigger on an ekality with the white in votin ez well ez taxashun, we consider the sappin uv the very foundashun uv civil liberty, ez well ez uv the Crischen religion, therefore

Resolved, That the Constopshnel and Biblikle Democracy uv Kentucky send greetin to their brethrin uv Ohio, with thanks for their prompt and effectooal squelchin uv the oden uv nigger superiority.

Resolved, That to the Republikins uv Ohio, who, risin above party considerashuns, voted agin suffrage, our thanks is due, and we congratulate em that now they, ez well ez us, are saved from the danger uv marryin niggers, and likewise do we asshoor em, that in a spirit uv mutual forbearance, we care not wat particular creed they perfess, so long ez they vote our principles.

Resolved, That the will uv the people havin bin clearly indikated, we demand the insershun uv the word "white" in the Constitooshun ov the Yoonited States.

Resolved, That we ask the colored voters uv Tennessee, and other States where colored men hev votes, to observe how they are treated in Ohio, where the Ablishnists don't need them. In them States we extend to em a cordel invitashun to act with us.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolooshens be sent to President Johnson, with an ashoorance uv our unabated confidence in his iutegrity, patriotism, and modisty.

The meetin broke up with three cheers for the Dimocracy uv Ohio, nine for the Republikins uv that State, and one for the State at large.

The Fakulty uv the Institoot met next mornin, for the purpus uv revisin the Scripters. It wuz desided that the word white shood be insertid wherever necessary, and that that edishen only be yoosed by the Democracy and Conservativ Republikins. We made progress, the follerin bein a few uv the changes:

"So God created a white man in his own image."

"Whosoever, therefore, shell confess me before white men," etc.

"Suffer little *white* children to come unto me, for uv sich is the kingdom uv heaven."

Wich last is comfortin, ez it shows that the distinckshun is kept up through all eternity. I give these merely ez samples. We shel hev it finisht in a few days, and, ef funds can be raised, shel publish it. Sich a vershun uv the Skripters is needed.

I find the Demokratic mind is exercised over the question uv the succession to Wade. My voice is for Vallandygum. Never wuz there sich a saint—never wuz there a man so abused by the tyranikle minions of irresponsible power. He hez suffered for us, and now he must hev his reward. It hez bin urged that the ten cent collekshun in 1863 was sufficient to pay for his marterdom. I deny it. I know all about it. He got nothin uv it. Every Demekrat in Ohio hed taxes to pay, or whose boots needid half solin, took up a collekshun for Vallandygum. I know that's so, for I wuz a Demekrat in Ohio, laborin under pecuniary embarrasments, in them days myself. Let Lallandygum hev the place he so well earned.

PETROLEUM V. NASBY, P. M.,
(Wich is Posmaster.)

WHAT JOHNSON INTENDS.

From the Rochester (N. Y.) Express.

There have been various ominous "givings-out" respecting the intentions of Andrew Johnson, in the happening of certain contingencies—as the meeting of Congress, and the passage of a resolution of impeachment by the House. These suggestions of evil purposes on the part of the acting President are not wholly without such foundation as should give rise to apprehension of approaching trouble. We have not given them much thought heretofore, because we believed that Andrew Johnson's natural cowardice would prevent him from proceeding to actual violence, however he might threaten and scold, and indulge in gross vituperation, as he did last year. And the further fact that he has no party to stand by him in an attempt at revolution, is a more patent reason for his refraining from the execution of the programme sketched by some of his ardent friends. But there are indications that an access of insanity has come upon the President since the Democrats have stolen a march upon the Republicans in the recent elections; and that, unless restrained by such advisers as Gen. Grant, Reverdy Johnson, Seymour, and the leading rebels who have had enough of war, he may attempt to play the role of Cromwell and disperse Congress. The costly preparations of Gov. Swann, in rehabilitating the rebel militia in Maryland, at a time when the State Treasury is actually bankrupt, and no local causes for such arming exists, is an ominous and alarming incident. Gen. Frank Blair has written to friends in Missouri that there are to be serious events in Washington next Winter, and advising the malcontents in that State to be prepared to aid in some revolutionary enterprise. The following statements of a private letter, written from Washington to a citizen of Detroit, gives an idea of the *means* which Johnson is preparing for a *coup d'etat:*

"Washington, D. C., Oct. 8, 1867.

"Dear Sir: I do not know that there are any facts in relation to that miserable man, Johnson, that are not already in your possession.

"There is to be a grand agricultural and horse fair held in this city during the last of this month, and to continue until the 17th of next month! This fair is a Copperhead concern, managed by Johnson's friends.

"There are, at the lowest calculation, 25,000 traitors now in this city, quite a number of whom have been holding good offices during the past six years. This fair will perhaps bring here as many more, which, taken together with the Maryland traitors, makes about 70,000 traitors ready to do the will of our traitor President.

"The Navy Yard is all traitor, so is the Navy Department. Nearly all the chief clerks in all the departments will from choice follow Johnson, or any other rebel, anywhere.

"The fair, as I have stated, closes November 17th, and on the 18th there is to be a grand meeting at the Capitol to ratify the nomination of Andrew Johnson and W. T. Sherman. See to-day's *Union*.

"The rebels here in town are certainly preparing, and expect to have an opportunity to act. Whether that opportunity ever presents itself remains to be seen. I think it no harm for us to be also prepared.

"With the gold now being stored in the Treasury for the purpose, with 70,000 men at hand, with all the Departments under his control, with Sherman in the War Department, and with the whole rebel army, and Great Britain to boot, Andrew could give us some more serious trouble than anything he has yet done.

"No one, of course, knows that there will be more fighting. We do know, however, that the President's friends are preparing for it, and they hope a favorable opportunity will offer."

The *Post's* Washington correspondent states that the President and Cabinet have taken upon themselves to declare the Tenure of Office law unconstitutional, and will invite a direct collision with Congress on the dismissal of Mr. Stanton and the filling of the office by some new appointment, superceding Gen. Grant. The following is published as a statement authorized by the President:

"Whoever will take the place will receive an appointment outright as Secretary of War, vice E. M. Stanton, removed, for it is the purpose of Mr. Johnson to make an absolute removal of Mr. Stanton, under the law as it existed prior to the passage of the Tenure of Office act, which is held by the Administration as unconstitutional. In this opinion Mr. Stanton concurred when the bill was passed, and himself prepared a part of the veto message denying the power of Congress to pass such an act.

"The removal of Mr. Stanton having been accomplished in the manner indicated, the President will simply send his message to the Senate nominating A. B. to be Secretary of War.

"By this means, it is expected, in case the nomination is rejected, that possibly Mr. Stanton may be reinstated; but being out of office, he will be compelled to seek his legal remedy by mandamus or any other mode, if there be any other pointed out by law.

"This will bring the question as to the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office act before the Supreme Court of the United States for adjudication, and by its decision the right of Mr. Stanton to hold the office will be decided.

"Under the old law the Executive had power to suspend or remove; and the suspension of Mr. Stanton was adopted, for the time being, out of abundant caution, and in order that this act might also be within the terms of the Tenure of Office bill; but it was in the first instance the purpose of the President to make an absolute removal of Mr. Stanton, sooner or later."

THE IMPEACHMENT OF JOHNSON.

The North Missouri *Courier*, in a notice of our petition for the removal of Johnson, which it heartily commends, says:

If our Congressmen are deluged with impeachment petitions, they will not be so ready to dodge the issue, even if they are inclined. If they are already in favor of impeachment, they will be strengthened in their views, and will with greater alacrity vote for it, if they can be assured that their constituents will support them. It must be remembered that Washington atmosphere is very poisonous in its effects upon politicians and statesmen. Eastern Congressmen—many of them—are timid, and exercise a bad influence upon our Western members of Congress. Therefore, by all means, the West should make its demands known, and should instruct its representatives in unmistakable language to go boldly forward and perform the duty expected of them. The country has had enough of boy's play in Congress. What it now demands is an exhibition of moral courage and true patriotism, in the form of impeachment. If it puts that demand into petitions for impeachment, great good will be accomplished. Mr. Johnson by his actions daily defies Congress. He now dares Congress to impeach him. Now let the contest come, for the sooner it is decided which is the stronger, one single traitor or millions of people, the better for the country.

THE UNRECONSTRUCTED CHIVALRY.

As a specimen of malicious mischief and malignant pusillanimity, the following editorial from the Mobile Daily *Times* is perhaps unequalled. It aptly illustrates the dignity and high tone of the chivalry, and explains itself:

To the Black Vot-rs of Mobile County:

Although we do not approve of your course in placing into office the very worst whites you could pick up, a spirit of justice to you compels us to inform you that the "Central Republican Committee" at Washington has placed in the hands of the Radical leaders of Mobile a large amount of money, intended to pay your expenses to, and during the last election, not to be less than five dollars to each.

As we understand that some of you have been fooled with a plug of tobacco, worth only twenty cents, we deem it our duty to inform you that, by calling early and often on Mayor Gustavus Horton, at his office, or anywhere else, and by insisting on what you know to be your rights, you will receive at least five dollars specie from the said Mayor Horton, being in this far more lucky than the *Times*, which cannot obtain the three dollars legitimately due it.

Remember, colored fellow-citizens, that we have the proof that the money has been sent, and sent for your use, and therefore call for it early and often, and do not allow yourselves to be cheated any longer.

Pass it round.

Country papers devoted to justice being done to black men, will please copy, and send bill to "Gustavus Horton," Esq., Mobile, Ala.

THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW OF THE ELECTIONS—GRANT.

From the Charleston Courier.

Washington, Saturday, Oct. 12, 1867.

The President and his Cabinet, including Gen. Grant, fully understand and appreciate the meaning of the late elections. They view the result as the want of the great conservative interests of the country, which demand peace, stability and justice under a Constitutional Union. The elections were gained by conservative men, and not by the Democrats, as a distinct party. These elections are only a prelude to a general uprising of conservative young men throughout the North and West, the results of which we shall see in the November elections, and more decidedly still in the elections for Congress and for the Presidency in November of next year.

The fact is, the country is in the hands of a generation of young men who have sprung up within the last six or seven years, and the first thing they will do is to brush off the old and effete and prejudiced leaders of the Radical party everywhere. The old Democratic chiefs of the Buchanan school will fare no better with them. They are not going back to past times or to old dogmas, but will take things as they find them in this their own generation. The President has expressed views of the situation in a manner showing that he comprehends it. It is not his triumph, though he has contributed to it. He says, however, that it puts an end to the impeachment project, and will give him an opportunity, peacefully and with less obstruction than was expected, to sustain the Executive Department with its constitutional rights, in opposition to the factious and despotic action of Congress.

The Conservative Republicans, and especially the old Clay and Webster Whigs, are gratified by the result, and will evidently support the onward movement. Many held back from the polls at the late elections because they would not act with their old opponents, the Democrats. They will have no scruple hereafter on that move.

The President will not, in readjusting his Cabinet, compose it of Democratic partisans. He will take conservative men. He has stated this in unmistakable terms. At the same time he will seek men of nerve and boldness, as well as integrity and ability. He ought to take men representing the present situation, and probably he will do it.

SHALL IMPEACHMENT BE STAYED?

From the Boston Commonwealth.

The close of the last week was marked by the revelations of the President to a correspondent of a Boston paper—the *Post*—which even exceeded the accustomed audacity of that individual. In this conversation, which the correspondent says he had from his own lips, the President said he should soon appoint a permanent Secretary of War in place of Stanton, without regard to the Tenure of Office act, and decline to give any reason therefor to Congress; that if any attempt was made to suspend his own functions before impeachment, he should resist with all the power which the Constitution and laws gave him, and much more to the same end. These declarations have arrested the attention of the country, and are now being seriously considered by influential men. Immediately after these words came the statement that the number of members of the House Judiciary Committee favorable to impeachment had been increased by some of the recusants of the last session, followed in turn by authorized denials that said individuals had expressed any opinion how they should act on the question.

The action of Congress in this whole matter of impeachment has been cowardly. A majority of that body knows, as well as it knows the amount of its mileage, that Andrew Johnson is a bad and dangerous man, whom no restrictions of law will restrain. Instead of boldly stepping up to the line of its duty, it has attempted by subterfuges to secure his control, and find that nothing succeeds. A restored nationality, the pacification of the South, protection to the freedmen, and confidence and stability in business, all depend upon the purpose of this man; and yet Congress, with all the experience of the last two years, strives to bind him by withes of grass rather than courageously removing him from the position in which he disturbs the public tranquility and endangers the safety of the republic. We say Congress knows better than to allow this thing to continue—knew better at the last session; yet it prefers to be timid, vacillating, and disgraced, rather than initiate a radical remedy. The answers of the Judiciary Committee-men to the rumor of their favoring impeachment shows that another course of similar subterfuge, evasion and criminal neglect is to come.

As during the war, at frequent periods of disaster, our faith in the national cause was strengthened by the unequalled malignity of Jefferson Davis, so now we find hope for Congressional virtue in the reckless ambition of Andrew Johnson. He will yet goad Congress into sanity. He will yet make the members brave in spite of themselves. He will yet, God willing, depose himself by his usurpations and defiance of law, rather than through the agency of the people's servants. However brought about, the country will rejoice, though Congress jeopard the success of the loyal party by its timidity and cowardice!

THE LOUISIANA CONVENTION.

Gen. Mower has just issued the following order in New Orleans:

SPECIAL ORDERS—NO. 166.

Headquarters Fifth Military District,
New Orleans, La., Oct. 21, 1865.

In compliance with the third and fourth sections of the supplementary act of Congress, passed March 23, 1867, the commanding general hereby declares the total vote cast in the State of Louisiana, at the election held September 27 and 28, 1867, on the question "for the purpose of establishing a constition and civil government for the State loyal to the Union," to be as follows: seventy-nine thousand one hundred and seventy-four (79,174). Of these votes, 75,083 were cast for a convention, 4,006 against a convention, and 85 were blank.

A majority of the whole number registered in the State having voted, and a majority of the votes cast being "for a convention," as prescribed by acts of Congress, the delegates elected at said election, as hereinafter named, are notified to assemble in convention at the Mechanic's Institute Hall, in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, Saturday, November 23, 1867, for the purpose of framing a constitution and civil government according to the provisions of the acts of Congress of March 22 and 23, 1867.

[Here follows a list of the names of the members elect.]

AN INSIDE VIEW.

From the St. Louis Democrat.

Democrats rejoice. Rebels take courage. Honest Republicans are disappointed. Why? Because a new treachery, not less base and more successful than that of Mr. Johnson and his followers, has revealed itself. It is the treachery of Republicans that has caused loss in Ohio, and partial defeat in Pennsylvania. To show precisely what sort of treachery we mean, let us take an inside view of the political situation.

There are certain Republicans known as Conservatives, because they have generally opposed the measures devised by the more Radical majority of the party for the settlement of national difficulties. They are always afraid that the party is going too fast, and are fond of predicting that if it does this or that it will be defeated. With some of these men—doubtless not with all—personal ambition is the ruling motive. An honest ambition is honorable. An ambitious Radical seeks advancement by working for the public good, and faithfully representing the views which prevail within the party. Those who are called Conservatives seek advancement by such a course as will render them more popular with Democrats than other Republicans, and therefore, they calculate, will make them the winning candidates of the Republican party in occasions of danger. To the success of this policy it is necessary that there should be occasions of danger. They therefore direct their efforts to keep the majority of the party as small as possible without altogether destroying it—to encourage and strengthen the opposition as much as possible without giving it absolute victory.

Just now, the Presidential election of 1868 is the objective point in all combinations. Conservative Republicans desire to force the nomination of a candidate in sympathy with themselves—a candidate who will be governed by them, and not by the more radical Republicans, both in his policy, and in the distribution of offices. Unfortunately for this scheme, two serious obstacles stand in the way. In the first place, they are clearly in the minority in the Republican party. Any convention fairly representing the sentiment of the party would throw them overboard, and select some true, resolute and able man as candidate. Again, the victories of last year were too decisive. They gave the Republican party confidence to believe that it could nominate and elect an able man—and not a mere expediency. To overcome these difficulties, to destroy the confidence of Republicans, and to force upon the party the will of a minority of its members, they used the elections of this year. How well they managed, the results show.

Holding influential positions on committees, State, county, or district, controlling influential papers, and prevailing, in some cases, in local nominating conventions, these managers have been able to throw away large Republican majorities in Ohio and Pennsylvania. It was their object to defeat the party altogether, and they have not done it. It was their object to defeat Senator Wade and Impartial Suffrage in Ohio, and they have done it. By this stroke of policy, they calculate that two Radical candidates for the Presidency, Senator Wade and Chief-Justice Chase, have been shelved; that a color of excuse is furnished for their persistent opposition to Radical measures in the past, and for their demand that those measures shall be abandoned in the future; and that the Democrats will be rendered so confident and the Republicans so alarmed, that the nomination of some Conservative candidate can easily be forced upon the Republican Convention. We do not suppose that this manœuvre is the result of a deliberately-arranged plot, in which all Conservative workers, managers, committee-men, and editors in the Republican party were engaged, but, with an instinctive appreciation of the situation, they worked precisely as if there had been such a plot. Instinctively they felt that heavy Republican majorities would make a Radical candidate and a Radical policy inevitable; therefore they worked as if they did not mean to gain heavy majorities. Instinctively they felt that the success of the Amendment in Ohio and the election of Senator Wade would damage their personal prospects. Therefore they deliberately preferred to defeat the Republican party, rather than to be defeated by the majority of that party in the Convention next year. In these games, the Conservative Republicans have the advantage. Radicals, who care something for the principles at stake, cannot throw away victories to advance their personal schemes. But men who care nothing for principle have the power to force the party to submit to their dictation or else to accept defeat. By joining the Copperheads, by staying at home, by making a tame and lukewarm canvass, by local mismanagement, they can always throw the election into the hands of the opposition, and thus work out the fulfilment of their own predictions.

We begin already to witness the results of these manœuvers. The Cincinnati *Commercial* and the New York *Times*, the two leading papers of that faction, boast that the late election is a verdict of the people against Radical measures and Radical leaders. They tell us that the reconstruction policy of Congress, which these papers denounced, and which Mr. Raymond of the *Times* opposed in Congress—as nearly as he ever opposed anything—has been voted down, and must be abandoned. They tell us that Radical leaders like Mr. Wade, of whom the *Commercial*, even while the canvass was in progress, said more bitter things than of any Copperhead candidate, must be sent into retirement. The conclusion is that the little knot of political soreheads represented by those papers, the men who indorsed Johnson's policy just as long as they dared, who got up the Philadelphia Convention and abandoned it only when they found it had ignominiously failed, the men whose treachery to the Republican cause has more than once placed it in peril, and has just given rebels and Copperheads new cause for rejoicing, must now be permitted to rule the party which they have shown themselves so willing to ruin.

We believe this to be the true explanation of recent events. The elections were not the work of the people, but of disappointed or desperate political gamesters. Having pursued a timid and conservative policy until it has disgusted the party with them and their advice, they now seek, by exposing the party to defeat, to force themselves and their views upon the majority who have repudiated them. And it remains for Republicans who care more for principles than for spoils, more for the welfare of the country than for temporary success, to determine whether we will win in spite of these men, as we did in 1866, or, submitting to their dictation, will permit their treachery to Republican principles to reap its desired reward. For ourselves we answer, "principles, not men." We cannot sacrifice the principles for which we have fought. We cannot abandon those measures of reconstruc-

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tion by which only can the welfare of the country be secured. For the sake of those principles and measures we can sacrifice all else; if the welfare of the country demands it, we can easily surrender offices and spoils to those whose pure and disinterested patriotism needs buying to keep it true. But we cannot abandon the loyal men of the South to their foes; we cannot forgo all hope of a just and loyal reconstruction; we cannot give up the banner of equal rights, under which alone the Republican party would be worth a vote or an effort.

THE PRESS.

The *World* comments as follows upon the Virginia election:

THE VIRGINIA ELECTION—TRIUMPH OF THE NEGROES.

The election in the most important of the Southern States, and the one where the advantages were greatest for defeating the Radicals, has resulted in a majority of sixteen thousand or more in favor of a Convention, and the delegates, chosen at the same time, consist of thirty Conservatives and sixty Radicals, eighteen of the latter being negroes. Considering the fulness of the negro vote, and the unanimity with which it was cast for a Convention and for Radical members of it, we doubt whether the general result could have been different if the Conservatives had been all of one mind; although the Radical majority might have been kept down to a slender margin. Of the registered voters the excess of whites was less than fourteen thousand. We have only to suppose half this number Radicals, to neutralize the Conservative vote. The voting strength of the Radicals is doubtless much greater, so that, with the consolidated negro vote, they would have carried the Convention however perfect might have been the unity among the Conservative whites.

We think that the Richmond *Enquirer*, which stiffly advised inaction, evinced more sagacity than the Richmond *Whig*, which counselled all the registered whites to vote. There was no possibility of beating the Radicals if the full negro vote was polled: and the most effective mode of opposition would have been total abstention. The Convention cannot, in any just sense, be considered as a deliberative body. It must act under the coercive dictation of Congress; and unless it wishes its work rejected (a case in which it would be idle for it to assemble), it must reach a foregone conclusion. Its only choice will be as to the phraseology in which it will couch the Congressional requirement to make the negro inhabitants of the State equal to the white. The wording being of little consequence, and the substance dictated beforehand, there was no good reason why Conservatives should vote, unless in the hope of defeating the Convention. It would have been wiser to surrender the whole business to the negro party, whose extravagance, when acting without any check, might lead them into blunders which would recoil to their disadvantage.

But inaction stands upon reasons which will not hold good when the work of the Constitution comes to be submitted for ratification. The registered Conservatives of Virginia will be inexcusable if they do not turn out in full strength to vote down the new Constitution. Very likely they will not succeed: certainly they will not unless the Convention falls into blunders that disgust a part of the white Radicals. Still it is important, in reference to the public opinion of the North, that the majority by which the new Constitution is adopted shall be pitifully small; and the Virginia Conservatives can undoubtedly make it so. It will then only be necessary to subtract the total vote against the Constitution from the whole number of registered whites to find how many whites favored ratification. A comparison of the white votes *for* with the white votes *against*, will show how overwhelmingly it would have been repudiated if submitted only to those fairly entitled to vote upon it. The whites who stay away from the polls in so important a crisis as the ratification will be considered as indifferent, and the moral effect of the vote will be impaired or lost if the whites who vote aye shall bear a considerable proportion to the whites who vote no.

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This election in Virginia foreshadows the future politics of the State and of the South, under Radical ascendancy. The most potent and influential man in Virginia politics at present, is the notorious Hunnicutt, a violent demagogue of the Parson Brownlow pattern. All the Southern States will be surrendered into the hands of vulgar, rabid dictators of the same stamp, if the negro experiment succeeds. Hunnicutt is opposed to every liberal measure of State policy, because such measures would make inroads into the dominion of ignorance where alone men like him can thrive. He opposes white immigration into the State, because the addition of a few thousand white citizens would turn the scale against the negroes and remand Hunnicutt to insignificance and obscurity. The value of the negro element in our politics may be estimated by the kind of men the negroes honor with their confidence. In proportion as voters are ignorant and debased, they will surrender themselves passively to the guidance of leaders; and the lowness of their level may be measured by the vileness of the men they consent to be led by. The moon-calf Caliban offered to worship the drunken Stephano as a god, and asked to lick his shoes. And the Virginia negroes, many of whom forgot at the polls the names by which they were registered, regard Hunnicutt as their statesman.

A "HERALD" VIEW.

The *Herald* seeks to promote "reaction" by daily proclaiming the dangers of "negro supremacy." The following is its present view of

"'THE NIGGER QUESTION' AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."

Shall this continent be given up to barbarism for a fanatical experiment and a party scheme? This, and none other, is now the question before the American people. Shall we throw away what we have acquired of science and civilization, blot out our history, give up all aspirations of the future, that the nigger may become supreme and restore the land to that happy state of nature in which Africa now is? Is Africa such a magnificent evidence of the nigger's greatness that the example of its history should induce us to change our system for his? For uncounted centuries the negro has had possession of that continent and never built a city, never bridged a river, never made the smallest discovery having any tendency to widen the little space that separates him from the gorilla—never even borrowed the discoveries of races with which he came in contact, except as they supplied more efficient means for the gratification of his instinct for cruelty. Such is the history of the nigger in his native land. But he comes to another continent, becomes subordinate to a race that forces him to labor, and presto! there is a change! Freedom had kept him a brute, slavery made him a man, and what must the second freedom make him? Lord of the ascendant! He must be the master and must control the destinies of the nation, though it be to the exclusion of a race of white men without superiors on the face of the earth. Such is the drama now in progress. The white man of the North holds down the white man of the South while the nigger tramples upon him.

Wendell Phillips and Thad Stevens are right. There is nothing in the platform of the Republican party but the nigger, and no other subject in national politics worthy thought, by comparison with the discussion of the position, but the rights and the powers the nigger is to have in the nation. This involves the most momentous revolution a people ever passed through. It involves the complete overturning of our present social and political system. We are accustomed to look upon the French Revolution as a sufficiently terrible chapter of history; yet that was only a war between classes, all of whom were of the same race, and its bloodiest phase was merely the insanity of revenge. Here it is insisted that a superior race shall give way to an inferior, when that interior race has derived only from contact with the other what semblance of humanity it has. Men whose fathers fought side by side with the men of the North in three wars for the honor of the Republic—men of a race whose instincts are all towards progress—must yield to a race whose instincts are so positively the other way that, left alone, they fall to absolute barbarism and wildness in a single generation. Of what moment are financial discussions, free trade theories, or political hair-splitting of any sort, by comparison with the deliberation of this nigger question—bearing with it, as it does, the possibility that the westward progress of civilization is stayed, was definitely arrested by the success of the Northern people in the great war that they supposed was a war against barbarism?

Nothing can have forced the Republican party to its present extreme position in regard to the nigger but a sentiment of desperation, a feeling that this degraded race is its forlorn hope, and that if it cannot rule through the slave vote, it must relinquish power altogether. The attitude of the Northern people justifies this thought. The protest of the people at the polls—a protest heard from the widest separated extremities of the nation—not only announces to the Republican leaders that they have gone farther than the people would permit, but that they have gone so far they can never hope to secure popular confidence again. To abate some portion of their pretension would therefore be useless, and they desperately choose to push the game to its ultimate limit, hoping yet to control by means of the power to be given to the nigger. It is clear enough that this is in all ways a murderous policy—murderous to the country if it prevails and to the men who have planned it if the people can see their purpose. And the people must be made to see; and thus every jot gained in power given to the nigger will be lost by the depth that this policy will inevitably give to the reaction of the nation against the bold, bad, unscrupulous knot of politicians who are definitely determined to ruin if they cannot rule.

The *Tribune* makes the following appeal

TO GENUINE CONSERVATIVES.

Four millions of our countrymen, lately slaves, are now free—that is a positive fact. You may dislike it, loathe it, execrate it—but you none the less know it to be a fact.

Congress, in reconstructing the States lately in revolt, has determined that these blacks, unless they have voluntarily aided the rebellion, shall vote; and *they* ARE *voting*. This is another important fact. Hate it as you may, you still know it to be a fact.

This Congress remains in power for nearly two years longer, and the Republican majority in the Senate cannot be subverted within the next four years. Though every election should go against us meantime, the Senate will remain Republican. But it is perfectly certain that the majority will be strongly re-enforced from the soon-to-be reconstructed States. And right well do you know that this majority will not vote to destroy itself by disfranchising the Southern Blacks.

What, then, do you mean by Conservatism?

Do you mean to keep this whole country in turmoil and contention throughout the next four years, in the desperate hope that you may thereafter be able to disfranchise the four millions of Southern blacks, and put them under the feet of their late rebel masters?

If *that* is your game; what sort of crops, of trade, of payments, can you expect from the South meantime? What hope can you cherish that the country will ever be pacified?

It is one thing to deny the right of suffrage to a down-trodden race; it is quite another to deprive them of it after they have gained and exercised it. We defy the wit of man to tell how the blacks of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida, after they shall have voted and chosen State officers and members of Congress, are to be disfranchised, except by usurpation and revolutionary violence. Virginia has shown you that they will not disfranchise themselves.

Conservatives! practical men! devotees of peace and prosperity! we conjure you to pause and reflect! The antidote to social anarchy is impartial liberty!

CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANISM.

The N. Y. *Times* (Conservative Republican), apparently blind to the wholesale proscription of landless negro voters by rebel monopolists, responds in the following terms to our demand that the negroes and loyal poor whites, shall be guaranteed a landed foothold, as the only secure basis for their political freedom, and for the peaceful administration of government in the South:

THE NEW RADICAL CRUSADE FOR THE COLORED RACE.

The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD insists upon another "leap ahead" in the matter of Radical action towards the Southern States. It is not enough, it says, that the Radicals should get into their own hands the "organization of the State governments in the South:" they must *fortify* themselves there—they must prepare to hold governments permanently, by confiscating the landed estates of the white population and "dividing them up among the blacks." This, says THE STANDARD, "is not only just—but it is absolutely indespensable to secure the blacks their freedom." It must be done, therefore, at once. It remains a duty of Congress to *depose Johnson* and to *dispossess the rebellious occupants* of these large landed estates." The one thing now most needed, it adds, is to "take the dangerous power of a rebellious land monopoly and *transfer its strength* to trustworthy and deserving parties."

We do not think this project of confiscation is as strong now as it was a year ago. The reaction lately witnessed in public sentiment was due largely to the force with which this and kindred schemes were pushed upon Congress and the public. It is not so fashionable as it was a year ago to profess the most ultra and reckless radicalism, for fear of being left behind in the race for popular favor. Senator Wade, in Kansas, expressed what was then the disposition of most of our leading politicians, when he said he was ready for a "*leap ahead*," on any subject and at any time. Prominent men seemed to be vieing with each other as to which should use the most vehement and unqualified language, and profess the most reckless and extravagant sentiments, on all questions of public interest and importance. Everything like calm consideration and sober argument was discarded as out of place; and men made haste to express the most rabid and absurd opinions, lest somebody else should establish prior claims to a deeper and more extreme radicalism than they. And it was probably a lucky circumstance that Mr. Wade happened to overshoot the mark a little, by proclaiming himself ready for an agrarian distribution of property, and thus arrested public attention to the tendency and drift of the radical theories and schemes of the day. The rebuke which he received will give pause to a good many who were eagerly emulating his example.

THE STANDARD will probably do more good than harm now, therefore, by reproclaiming its extreme and extravagant theories of confiscation and distribution of Southern land among the negroes. It is curious, however, to note how steadily the things essential to the freedom of the blacks have increased. When they were first set free by proclamation of the President, an amendment of the Constitution was required—justly and truly enough. When that had been secured, a guarantee of equal civil rights was demanded—and that also was conceded. Next came a demand for a qualified suffrage—inasmuch as the only security for the freedom of the negroes consisted in their possession of the ballot. And before this had been secured the whole party, by a very sudden "leap ahead," enlarged the demand into one of universal negro suffrage, accompanied by a large disfranchisement of the Southern whites and the establishment of military law over all the Southern States. In no other way, it was alleged, could the negroes be *secure* in the enjoyment of the freedom which had been bestowed upon them.

And now we have another "leap forward." Now they must have forty acres of confiscated land apiece. In no other way can their freedom be secured. In no other way can their ascendancy in the Southern State governments be rendered safe and permanent. But why will *land* do it? They will need houses as well as land—food and clothing, as well as houses—and a handsome balance at the bankers, by and by, as well as either. Where are these exactions, made in the name of freedom, to end? White men do not require lands, or houses, or even votes—or, at all events, the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD does not propose to confer them upon them—in order to secure their freedom. The negroes in the South are no longer slaves: they are masters of their own actions; they work when, for whom, and at such prices as they choose; they have equal rights with all other men before the law: they sit upon juries, take part in political action, have the right to vote and enjoy all other rights which belong to and characterize freemen everywhere. Upon what ground of justice or of equal rights can more be demanded for them?

The colored race is likely to be injured, rather than aided, by this sycophantic and extravagant crusade on its behalf. They may be made for a time the special pets and favored recipients of political power, of landed wealth and of whatever else may be the price of their party support:—but in the long run their support on these terms will cost a good deal more than it is worth. Neither the political, the industrial nor the social institutions of States can be made to rest on such a basis. With every year their demands will become more and more exorbitant; the effect of giving them special advantages over other classes of the community, will become more and more injurious, and more and more an element of social discord and danger; and the reaction against them will become stronger and stronger throughout the Northern States. Ohio has voted against them now, after two years of Congressional legislation in their interest, by 50,000 majority: if the programme laid down by the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD is followed up, the majority of Ohio next year on the same side will be twice as large.

DISRESPECT TO THE PRESIDENT.—A dispatch says that the sentence imposed upon Assistant Engineer George W. Sawyer, by a court martial at Portsmouth, N. H., has been approved by Secretary Welles. The charge against Mr. Sawyer was that of using language disrespectful to the President of the United States. It appears that he and two or three other officers on duty at the Portsmouth yard, were one day talking, and they finally got into a political discussion. Congress was denounced as an unconstitutional body, guilty of usurpation and of the enactment of unjust and tyrannical laws. In the heat of argument, Mr. Sawyer responded by saying that Congress would fail of its duty unless it impeached the President. This remark was reported by the other officers to the Secretary of the Navy, who made haste to have Mr. Sawyer court-martialled. He was found guilty and sentenced to be reprimanded by the Secretary, and to be suspended from duty for one year on half-pay.—*Tribune.*

THE PORTSMOUTH "TREASON."—The order reprimanding Engineer Sawyer of the Navy for having incidentally remarked while conversing with two of his brother officers at Portsmouth, N. H., that President Johnson ought to be impeached, has been promulgated by Secretary Welles. The following is that portion of the document touching upon Mr. Sawyer's "crime": "The finding and sentence of the court are approved, and Second Assistant Engineer George W. Sawyer will accordingly be suspended for the period of one year from this date on half of 'waiting orders' pay. In carrying into execution that part of the sentence which requires that Second Assistant Engineer Sawyer be publicly reprimanded, the Department hereby admonishes that officer that the punishment awarded by the court in his case must be regarded as lenient. An officer who is so grossly ignorant as not to know that the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, or who is so insubordinate in spirit that he will not hesitate to denounce and treat with disrespect the Chief Magistrate or any superior officer, however exalted in rank, is not only wanting in the qualities of a gentleman, but is wholly unfit for the military service. Whatever latitude of denunciation or abuse civilians may choose to indulge in with regard to the authorities of the government, officers of the Navy can claim no such privilege, even under plea that they have a right to express their opinions on political subjects. Such license is utterly incompatible with the existence of military discipline, and at the same time is unnecessary to the most perfect freedom of opinion, either in politics or religion. A naval officer should be a gentleman in language and deportment. Good sense and good breeding will always enable any individual to express his opinions without giving just cause of offence, and an officer who cannot do so is as much deficient in those qualities as he is in a sense of military duty when he treats his superior with disrespect."—*Boston Journal.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1867.

CONNECTICUT OR NEW HAMPSHIRE?

THE several States have each a nickname or two, the Bay State, the Keystone, the Palmetto, Woolverines, Suckers, etc. We have the Cavaliers of Maryland and the pedlers of Connecticut. Mr. Secretary Welles's order in the Sawyer case has set us to thinking which is the meanest State. There is Iowa, which let Rousseau choose her Congressman. There is Mississippi, she repudiated her just debts—but then she did not give birth to Jefferson Davis. Kentucky did, and, beside that, she hung wavering all through the rebellion, "letting I dare not wait upon I would." Maryland, like a puppy dog, snapped whenever she could get a safe chance at the heels of the government, but settled herself into decorous sobriety, as if nothing had happened, the moment a big dog appeared.

All these were mean actions. But then they seem spasmodic, great sins under the pressure of great temptation. For constitutional, unintermitted, incessant, ingrained, heartily relished and ostentatiously vaunted meanness, we think the palm belongs either to New Hampshire or Connecticut. The last obstinately clung, alone in disgraceful distinction from the rest of New England, to the indescribable meanness of taxing and hanging men she would admit neither to her schools nor her ballot-box. It was a hard thing for New Hampshire to outdo that. But the Granite State proudly vindicated her claim to be the "Dexter" in this race-course of servility, by inflicting on us Isaac Hill, "Gag" Atherton and Franklin Pierce. That was full measure, heaped up and running over. For a while, before such an achievement, Connecticut folded her hands in meek despair. She knew she had her Toucey and her Seymour; but what availed a hundred such against one of New Hampshire's three?

Be comforted—Christians of the State that mobbed a woman for teaching a black child to read—home of Andrew T. Judson, from whom Taney stole his lie that a negro had no rights—cheer up; put on beauty instead of ashes, the oil of joy instead of mourning, the garment of praise in place of the spirit of heaviness. The belt in this contest for servility is again thine, and likely to be so forever against the world.

Mr. Secretary Welles has redeemed the foul fame of the State, and put New Hampshire, in the language of the race course, "no where."

Read his order affirming the Court's decision in Sawyer's case. To say that this Northern attempt to appropriate to itself the curse of the serpent—that that attempt has never been more successful—to say only so much, is halting and stinted praise. It is unjust to a great genius in this line. We desire to recognize aspiring genius, as well as to speak the exact truth, and therefore feel compelled to say that it will not be possible, in all coming time, for human ingenuity to outgo this last Connecticut success. She stands safe forever in the unapproached and unapproachable willingness of her sons to eat the bread of trucklers and parasites.

Consider. Where are the "brother officers" who had an opinion about Congress? No need to lecture them on the duty of being "Gentlemen as well as officers!" Notice the stress laid on this matter of being Gentlemen. Did one ever see an upstart mysteriously brought into the company of gentlemen, who did not perpetually dwell on the duty of being genteel? It was the sublime of recklessness when Welles—whose whole knowledge of naval affairs consists in his ability, on a very clear day, to distinguish the bowsprit from the rudder—undertook to be Naval Secretary. But what was that audacity compared with his undertaking to define a Gentleman? Yet even that task his incompetency ventured on, to gain for his State the pre-eminence in sycophancy, and to save his—bread.

We are sorry to seem harsh or unjust to New Hampshire—sorry to disappoint her fond aspirations. The many friends we have in that State would rather incline us to strain a point in her favor. But as a public journalist we must be rigidly impartial. And speaking like a Peer on our honor, or like a Grand Juryman on our oath, we do say, in all soberness, that in our opinion Connecticut is entitled to the Belt. We doubt whether, so far North as Mt. Washington, men can get so low as this Connecticut pedler has managed to dive. Indeed, if we spoke frankly our real opinion of this act of the Secretary, we should describe it by an epithet common in English lips, but which Americans usually avoid.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

THE Negro in politics, as in war, has already demonstrated that he can be trusted to correctly discern, and effectively oppose the still rebellious spirit of the hitherto dominant, ruling white class of the South. The most sharply contested election, to be held under the Congressional forms, has taken place in Virginia, and resulted in a Radical triumph. This result is the more gratifying, as it was achieved by the enthusiasm and fidelity of colored voters, who, in the face of threatened loss of employment, systematic efforts of intimidation, and under the stunning effect of the betrayal of their cause in Ohio and Pennsylvania, persevered, undismayed, to victory. Their heroic conduct in the Virginia campaign ought to bring the blush of shame to the pale faces of their faint-hearted "Conservative" Republican allies in the North! The defeats in Ohio and Pennsylvania, our Southern correspondents assure us, at first filled the negroes with amazement, and they were slow to credit the reports. After a little reflection they rallied, and resolved to at least win victory for themselves. One good result of the Republican defection at the North, this Autumn, upon the Negro question, is likely to be the development of a more decided, radical-negro policy in the reorganization of the Southern State governments. The defeat of John Minor Botts is significant, and creditable to the negro voters. With an eye to an important numerical, and, as the elections show, a harmonious and united colored constituency, the Conventions to be held will probably not only provide in the State constitutions for the franchise for the blacks upon equal terms with the loyal whites, but also initiate measures for a liberal State policy with reference to the education, protection, and elevation of all citizens, without distinction of color. We have urged, and we reiterate the duty of Congress to take the initiative, and guarantee homesteads, and a liberal national system of education for the security of freedom, and the promotion of a better type of civilization throughout the South. We shall hold the Fortieth Congress recreant to its duty if it fails at the coming session to inaugurate and adopt these measures. The results of the Virginia election, and of those which have preceded it at the South, and the prevailing tone of opinion among the blacks, as reported to us, indicate that the negro, though uneducated, apprehends instinctively, as during the war, the situation, and that with the measure of political power which has already been entrusted to him, he will persevere until he achieves for himself, through the Southern State Conventions, and subsequent Legislatures, what Congress ought beforehand to guarantee.

As, however, the action of the present Congress might, and we trust will, remove the struggle for equal suffrage from all the States, North and South, so by the adoption of a well-considered plan of confiscation, and a liberal national policy of education, it can anticipate and obviate much of the friction and conflict of interest which, in the absence of such action, will inevitably centre in the newly constituted Southern Legislatures, and unnecessarily agitate and divide the Southern people.

We do not claim, as intimated by the New York *Times*, any special favor for the negro. Whatever precautionary legislation we ask of Congress in his behalf is only such as the peculiarity of his situation demands. The question of his political status is not yet definitely settled. With another adverse turn in the wheel, and a "conservative" Republican and Democratic ascendancy in national politics, the negro would be driven to the bayonet, or to disfranchisement, if not remanded back again to actual chattel slavery. We claim land for him in the South, because under the order of things out of which the rebellion grew, he was forced to continuous, unrequited toil, and is, therefore, entitled to compensation, not as a favor but as a right; because, through the perfidy of an unimpeached traitor President, the present occupants of the large landed estates are fraudulently possessed of an undue power, which they now wield, and will continue to exercise to oppress the blacks, and to the great detriment of the Government. There has been war, and not playing at war. Those lands are now legitimately at the disposal of the Federal Government, and should be so appropriated as to put our true and tried friends at least upon an equal footing with our red-handed enemies in the new dispensation of "Reconstruction."

Tried and trusted in the army, sagacious as he is proving himself at the polls, our Conservative friends should prepare to do themselves credit by extending to the negro a graceful welcome, as a fit representative of the regenerated South in the Halls of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and, should "manifest destiny" ultimately lead him to it, a seat in the Vice-President's or Presidential chair. Such a culmination is not without the range of future probability in a readjustment of political forces.

PHILADELPHIA FESTIVAL AND MEETINGS.

THE Committee of Arrangements for the Annual Anti-Slavery Meeting and Festival to be held in Philadelphia on Friday the 8th of November, earnestly request the personal attendance of every Abolitionist in the city and adjacent country on this important occasion. These gatherings will be full of interest to those who have fought the battles of freedom in this land during the last thirty-five years; and they ought to exert, and doubtless will exert, an important influence on public sentiment in this perilous crisis of our national life.

The present condition of political parties, the fearful lack of true Christianity, even in our Northern cities and towns, as displayed in the treatment of our colored citizens, the peril in which the freedman stands to-day, all call upon us to work mightily for the *full* redemption of the American slave, whose personal liberty is not yet secured to him; not yet fully possessed by him. We must not let his cause fail now, in the hour of its apparently approaching triumph. This cause needs, and the radical portion of the Republican party needs, the inspiration of an independent journal which shall unceasingly demand absolute justice for the colored man as for the white; which shall faithfully expose the plot of politicians to cheat him of his birthright; which shall deny and disprove false prophecies of peace to an unjust nation. Such a journal is THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD; and to its hearty and ample support let the friends of freedom in Pennsylvania rally on the 8th of November. Let the Meeting in the Hall of Franklin Institute, during the day, be crowded, and the Evening Festival at Horticultural Hall be attended by all the tried and true of our Old Guard, and all of the younger ranks who are pressing into the service of human liberty. It will be a social entertainment of rare interest, and to its attractions of last year, will be added the presence and the inspiring words of Wendell Phillips.

M. G.

OBITUARY.

LAWRENCE GOODHUE BIGELOW, ESQ.

From the Burlington Free Press of October 19.

THE intelligence of the death of Mr. Bigelow, given under our obituary head, to-day, will be received with sadness by many of our readers. Mr. Bigelow was born in Derby, in this State; but removed at the age of fourteen to Canada, where on reaching manhood he became engaged in the lumber trade in connection with the extensive Buckingham Mills. He remained there till 1849, when he removed to Burlington, and was for a while engaged in the same business here. He, however, abandoned active connection with business a number of years since; residing here, with occasional absence of a few months at a time at the South, on account of the health of members of his family or of his own. Of his qualities of character—his warmth of heart, sympathy with the oppressed, strong patriotism, regard for the honor and interest of his State and town, and outspoken earnestness of thought and language, we need not speak, for they will be remembered by all who knew him. His disease, dropsy, affecting the heart, had, doubtless, hung about him for many years. It became aggravated by a fall from his horse on Mansfield Mountain, last summer, and for a number of weeks, his friends have had no hopes of his recovery. He maintained his interest in public affairs, and in everything about him, to the last; held cheerful conversation last evening with his elder son, Mr. G. H. Bigelow, of the *Times*, and other members of his family, and rose as usual this morning; but soon after, at seven o'clock, remarked to his attendant, "I am going," and sinking on his bed, expired instantly.

Mr. Bigelow was a man of generous culture and devotedly interested in all social and reform questions. With the literature of these subjects he kept himself thoroughly conversant, and few men contributed more, in conversation, to a full discussion of them. No test of patriotism ever found him wanting. No duty to unpopular opinions was ever too hard for his sturdy fidelity to conscience and his convictions. His single-hearted, instinctive loyalty to truth made him clear-sighted in every emergency, and gave him a judgment which it was always safe to follow.

He was one of the two whole-souled men who made their way over the New York Hills, that December morning, to be present at the funeral of JOHN BROWN. A day spent under that roof made us more intimately acquainted with him than months of ordinary intercourse. Every year since has increased our sincere respect, ripening it into the warmest regard. We well remember, in our last conversation, his cordial joy that he had been permitted to see so much of the triumph of the principles he loved, and his assured faith in the future.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

DR. J. B. SMITH.

BOSTON, Oct. 25.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I NOTICE that Dr. J. B. Smith is dead. Not many months ago, he left Boston for Louisiana, to aid in organizing schools and churches among the freedmen of the Fifth Department. I knew him long and intimately; in seasons of success and again when he was penniless, without prospects and unpopular. Repeatedly in my employment, I found that he could always be trusted—that his fidelity needed no spur, no watcher, no bribe; that whatever he undertook he did to the best of his ability, with hearty zeal and a rare honesty of purpose. I have seldom known a man, whether white or black, who was more loyal to his friends or less resentful against his enemies.

Both as a public man and as a private man, there were those who were ready to malign him. I never cared for personal calumnies against him—for I saw the man's honest, true, warm heart too often to believe his detractors; and the tears that I have shed at the news of his death—and death seldom affects me unpleasantly—were caused by a hundred memories of his genuine and manly character, displayed when sincere friendship is most felt and needed. I wish that, without wounding the living, both here and in Hayti, I could tell how noble this man was in his friendships, how lightly cruel wrongs affected him, how sincerely he worked for his race and loved it, how readily he forgave personal injuries when done by any one who was friendly to the progress of freedom—but it would be an unfit tribute to him dead to pain the heart of any human being.

He had all of the distinguishing traits of his people—toned down by sorrows and a long, hard struggle for a home. He was not a brilliant speaker, but he was an able lecturer and an energetic and intelligent organizer. He had far more real ability than many who were more widely known as leaders of the colored people; indeed—Sam Dickerson, of Charleston, excepted—he was, take him for all and all, the ablest black man, of purely African descent, that I have met in the United States.

But it was less his ability than his fidelity that won the esteem of those that knew him. Among his Boston friends, I knew him best, and I loved him most. We could have better spared any thousand loyalists in Louisiana than he—the quiet, unobtrusive, honest, constant worker; the true-hearted, liberal, enlightened friend and man. God bless him.

JAMES REDPATH.

DEATH OF COL. DANIELS.

WE mentioned last week the loss of Madame De Mortie and of Dr. J. B. Smith, by yellow fever, at New Orleans. We are pained to have to chronicle the death of Col. N. W. DANIELS, well known to our readers as THE STANDARD'S New Orleans Correspondent, "VIATOR." His death occurred also from yellow fever, on the 1st ult. Col. Daniels was an active, uncompromising friend of impartial freedom, and a trusted friend of the freedmen. His death will deprive our cause in Louisiana of one of its most valuable and important co-workers, and will lose to the freedmen a friend and adviser they can ill afford to spare at the present critical juncture of affairs. The New Orleans *Tribune* of the 2d ult., says:

"Yesterday afternoon our noble and talented friend, Col. N. W. Daniels, fell a victim to the prevailing epidemic. Scarcely a greater loss could befall the liberal party at this time, and that loss will be sorely felt in the Convention to which he had just been elected, and of which he would have been one of the ablest and truest leaders.

"Our readers are familiar with the record of the Colonel since he entered the Union army in 1862. Hundreds of our friends served with him, under his command, in the First Native Guard Regiment, of which he was Colonel. They had an opportunity to become acquainted with his noble character and his perfect sense of the equality and rights of man. As a Federal officer, his record belongs to our national history, and will speak high for his military ability.

"Col. Daniels incurred the ill-will of Gen. Banks for his having taken part in behalf of his colored officers. He had then to retire from the field. But he continued making active service in the ranks of the Radical Republican party. During his stay at the national capitol in 1865 and 1866, he did a great deal to acquaint the Republican members of Congress with the true state of affairs in the South. At the same period he was our regular Washington correspondent—signing his letters with the *nom de plume* 'VIATOR.' Our readers recollect how energetically he opposed, in those correspondences, Andrew Johnson's policy, and how sound and right he was on the great principles of liberalism.

"Col. Daniels returned to Louisiana last Spring, bringing with him his talented wife, Cora Hatch, well known in the literary world, who is now afflicted with this great bereavement.

"Col. Daniels was only thirty-two years of age. He was a native of Syracuse (N. Y.), and recently a resident of Jefferson City. He was the presiding officer of the Central Executive Committee of the Republican party, for the parish of Jefferson, President of the Third Ward Club of Jefferson City, and one of the delegates elect to the coming Convention. He had been identified with the welfare and life of our State for many years before the war, having been a resident of the parish of Point Coupee. He leaves a great many friends to deplore his untimely loss; and his name, his philanthropy, his good will to all men, will be long remembered by the colored population of Jefferson."

PERSONAL.

John Jay, Esq., of this city, has been appointed a Special Commissioner to co-operate with the Board of Managers of the Antietam National Cemetery.

SALLIE HOLLEY addressed a large and deeply interesting meeting at Peterboro, N. Y., on the 28th ult. She is to speak to-morrow (Sunday) in Morrisville, N. Y., and on Sunday, Nov. 6, at Oneida, N. Y.

Rev. J. W. Chadwick's course of monthly religious lectures will be on Sunday evenings, beginning with Sunday, Nov. 3d. The announcement in our last issue was a mistake. The subject of the first lecture will be "The Signs of the Religious Times." Other subjects will be Channing, Parker, the Radical idea of God, of Jesus, of the Bible, of the Church, of Freedom and authority.

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in his discourse recently, said that "some men will not shave Sunday, and yet they spend all the week in *shaving* their fellow-men; and many folks think it very wicked to black their boots on Sunday morning, yet they do not hesitate to black their neighbor's reputation on week days."

Gov. Brownlow, who has been elected United States Senator from Tennessee, by twenty-four majority over Col. William B. Stokes, will not take his seat until March, 1869. He will succeed Senator Patterson. His term of office as Governor expires on December 31 of the same year, but he will resign in March, and Mr. Senter, present speaker of the State Senate, will succeed him. Mr. Senter is regarded as one of the best men in the body of which he is the presiding officer.

Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives, addressed the Union Republican Association of New York at the Cooper Institute last week in an eloquent and earnest speech of an hour and a half in length upon political issues past and present. The hall was crowded to repletion, and the speech was applauded to the echo. Col. Matthews, of Baltimore, followed Mr. Colfax in a brief speech, which was also well received. The meeting was among the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in the Cooper Institute.

Horace Greeley in his *Ledger* "Recollections," speaking of the time he commenced the printing business, says: "I tried Mr. James Conner, the extensive type-founder, in Ann street, but he, after hearing me patiently, decided not to credit me six months for the $40 worth of type I wanted, and he did right. My exhibit did not justify my request. I went directly then to Mr. George Bruce, the older and wealthier founder, in Chambers street, made the same exhibit, and was allowed the credit I asked; and that purchase has since secured to his concern the sale of not less than $50,000 worth of type."

Mrs. John A. Kennedy of this city is President of the Ladies' Union Relief Association. The Association is doing much good. A disabled soldier, who had served four years in the war, was recently picked up by a member of the Association in our streets, and put into a comfortable home. In a letter dated at this home, Oct. 11, he says:

"If you and Mrs. Kennedy will please accept my kind and sincere thanks for the interest you have taken in me, I will never forget it. Had it not been for you I don't know what I would have done. I intended to have put an end to myself on the very night of the day you gave me the money to buy my dinner. Your speaking to me then saved me from committing suicide; for I would have done it just as sure as fate, for at that time, I was starving—actually starving to death."

The Boston *Commonwealth* of Oct. 26, says:

"The accident to Rev. Samuel Johnson of Salem, which we mentioned last week, came near proving very serious. He had been unwell for several days, and was not in a fit condition to leave home, but felt that duty required him to fulfil his engagement. He was in the train due in Dover, N. H., on Saturday evening. Just after the cars had crossed the bridge near the depot, feeling faint, Mr. J. rose from his seat to reach the door of the car, which was the last he recollected until found by Mr. Emerson, the track-master, half an hour after, lying on the track, badly bruised and unconscious. He was taken to the American House, where on examination it was found that one of his shoulders was dislocated, and that he had received other severe injuries about the face and head. He is now at his home, and doing well."

Mrs. Elizabeth Heard, bookseller, printer, and publisher of the *West Briton* newspaper in England, died last month at her residence in Truro. A correspondent of the London *Bookseller* says of her:

"I know of no woman connected with the book and newspaper trade, who was better known and more respected than Mrs. Heard. She had carried on business in Boscawen street, Truro, for close upon sixty years, and I will venture to state that no commercial gentleman who ever called upon her but would be struck with her great judgment, her courtesy, and the desire which she ever evinced to do unto others as she would be done unto. Mrs. Heard was the widow of Mr. John Heard, the founder of the business, and lost her husband about forty-five years ago. She was left with a youthful family entirely dependent on her exertions. She was born in London in the year 1787, her father, Mr. Goodridge, being a successful tradesman. Her mother was from Edinburgh. Those who remember the perilous days a journalist had to pass through from the year 1815—the time of the peace—to the time of the repeal of the Corn laws, are aware that it was no easy matter to conduct the business affairs of a leading newspaper like the *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*; but Mrs. Heard was a woman of great industry and integrity, and in the conduct of a large miscellaneous business for a long series of years she won golden opinions from every one."

Hon. Hugh L. Bond, of Baltimore, has accepted the Republican nomination for Governor of Maryland, believing that the Republicans of that State intend to canvass it, and, as he hopes, to continue that canvass until the Presidential election. He says:

"We have been accustomed in Maryland to maintain a short discussion just prior to the election, whereby the people were led to attribute merely selfish motives and a desire for the office alone to those candidates who addressed them, and then to drop all efforts at instructions in political matters for a year or two, till there were other offices to fill. I hope the Republican party is now enlisted for the war—that it is not office it seeks, but the triumph of great principles; and in my judgment there is nothing which stands in the way of that triumph so much as the ignorance of honest-minded men of our State respecting the principles and purposes of the Republican party. It is impossible that Maryland's resources can be developed, or her wealth and population increased, by the measures and policy proposed by our fellow-citizens who oppose us, and it is vain to expect her to compete with her sister States under the free system, weighed down by the legislation and the prejudices prevailing when they cherished slavery as her law. Our opponents offer no other prospect. They favor no change. It is only necessary to discuss fairly our views to let men see we are the party of progress, and if we hope to rival other States we must adopt their methods of success. Education must be universal. Freedom, defended by suffrage, must secure the order and quiet of society, and the unimpaired credit of the nation must be maintained as the basis of its mercantile prosperity. I shall be ready at all times and everywhere in my native State, to many or to few, both before and after the election, to discuss these propositions, and believe their success to be a question only of time."

A Boston correspondent of the *Independent* says:

"I attended a meeting of the Radical Club yesterday morning (Oct. 14th) at Dr. Bartol's. The Club is composed of the Radical portion of the Unitarian clergy and divers literary women. There were present Messrs. Emerson, Alcott, Wasson, Sargent, Weiss, Samuel Longfellow, Putnam, Brown, and I know not how many others. Among the women were Mrs. Angelina Weld, Mrs. Sewall and others. Dr. Bartol read an essay of the transcendental order. It was a fine piece of composition, the object of which seemed to be to show how much man can contain of the divine, or how godlike he may become in his nature. After the reading, Mr. Emerson was called upon, and he proceeded to expound the subject in his usual method. Then followed Mr. Alcott, in his usual strain,

near our city, have cheerfully consented to do the honors in that line.

Now to the point. One of our main purposes is to get subscribers for THE STANDARD *and money for the Society;* we should add five hundred to the list, and in donations collect $2,500.

Let our friends come with full pockets and warm hearts. If we who believe do not work, who will?

E. M. DAVIS, Chairman.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

THE undersigned earnestly ask your assistance in keeping up the agitation in favor of the ballot for the Freedman.

One of our instrumentalities is the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. It does not pay its way. We must either increase its receipts from subscriptions, or raise the deficiency by donations. Our meetings and the Festival are for these purposes, and by direct appeals to the honor and conscience and justice of the people, to stir them to action.

The late elections have frightened Republican politicians. They cry out, "we have been too radical" This is a delusion. *They have been too timid.* Had they been *bold*, they would have inspired their associates with courage and confidence. But the evil lies back of this: *the people are not convinced.* The Nation is not converted. In the South the Negro is hated, in the North despised and derided. The white people fail to see clearly that their own liberties cannot be safe until those of every citizen are secured. Thirty years of labor have taught us this lesson. We must teach it to the Nation. If we mean to be just, and enjoy its consequences, the black man must have the ballot. It is oppression to require of him the duties of a citizen, and then to refuse him the exercise of a citizen's rights.

If we mean to be true to the Freedman, he must have the ballot, which he needs to secure even his personal liberty, and the opportunity to earn his livelihood. It is a cheaper and more civilized protector than the bullet, upon which he now depends. He must have the ballot to ensure Education, which is now dependent mainly upon the voluntary contributions of the benevolent, and upon the personal labors of noble women at the South.

Give him the ballot and he will *secure education from the State.*

To impress these truths upon the National mind are we laboring. We depend especially upon those who think with us for prompt, constant and efficient aid. Sinners never pay for their own salvation.

To proclaim and enforce these truths we publish THE STANDARD. To those who read it we must mainly look for a more extended circulation. Those who do not, cannot know its influence for good.

In our large meetings we may not be able to reach you to make personal application. We send this as a substitute. Do not let it go unheeded.

You may hand or send your reply to either of the undersigned members of the Committee:

Mary Grew,	Sarah L. Child,
Robert Purvis,	Charlotte L. Peirce,
William Still,	Sarah Purvis,
Ellen M. Child,	Clementine G. John,
Joshua Peirce,	Sarah Kenderdine,
Sarah H. Peirce,	Maria M. Davis,
John K. Wildman,	Anna M. Hopper,
Alfred H. Love,	Huldah Justice,
Benjamin C. Bacon,	James Mott,
Harriet D. Purvis,	Lucretia Mott,
Harriet Purvis,	Sally Bowman,
Carolina Shreve,	Margaretta Forten,
Anna M. Child,	Gulielma M. Jones,
William Ingram,	Hannah Wildman,
Cyrus Whitson,	Margaret J. Burleigh,
Maria Hopper,	Elizabeth Williamson.

Or to A. M. POWELL, Editor of the Standard, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York, or E. M. DAVIS, 333 Walnut Street, or Box 568, P. O. Philadelpia.

FESTIVAL.

To ——.

In behalf of the Festival to be held in this city, on the 8th of November, we solicit your aid and co-operation. There are various ways in which service may be rendered, and we trust that our friends will generously heed this appeal.

Contributions in money, large or small amounts, may be handed or sent to Edward M. Davis, 333 Walnut street, or Box 568 Post Office.

Suitable articles of provisions, such as chickens, hams, tongues, bread, butter, cake, fruit, etc., etc., may be sent to Charlotte L. Peirce, 501 North Seventh street.

You are authorized to sell tickets, which will be 50 cents each, admitting to the Festival and Wendell Phillips's Lecture. Tickets for reserved seats, 25 cents extra. Whatever number you may dispose of will be furnished on application to Ellen M. Child, 634 Race street.

Festival between the hours of 5 and 11.

Lecture at 8 o'clock.

The help of many hands will be needed at the Festival, and we hope our young friends especially will offer their assistance.

Those who are willing to aid at the Festival will report to MARY GREW or SARAH H. PEIRCE.

By order of the Committee.

J. K. WILDMAN, Chairman.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Oct. 27th, 1867.

REFORM, you know, must necessarily have its ups and downs, like other people and things; so, as the women's cause has been ably spoken for of late, here as well as elsewhere, it is not strange that two representatives of the church have thought fit to attack it last week, in this city. These assailants were the Rev. Mr. Fulton, pastor of a Baptist church in the Tremont Temple, and the pious Timothy Titcomb, long known as an opposer of reform generally, in the columns of the Springfield *Republican*, and as the author of various popular volumes. I have called Timothy a representative of the church, because, though a layman, he has faithfully followed and echoed the traditions of the popular theology, has profusely puffed the clergy in his writings (thus buying their eulogies for his own), and has helped them to desecrate the venerable word "Christian," by applying it to the sanctimonious conservatism of the most Pharisaic portion of the modern church, and by dissevering it from that doctrine of practical human brotherhood which was the distinguishing doctrine of Jesus of Nazareth, called Christ.

The first of these lectures was given by Mr. Fulton, in his own church, and "on his own hook." It was "a labor of love" on his part, since "the cause" would have inspired him equally, even apart from the twenty-five cents taken at the door.

Mr. Fulton's rhetoric is always of the extravagant sort, and his logic is like unto it; but both, on this occasion, showed the superlative degree of peculiarity. If the class of women to whom he assigns "strong-minded" as a reproachful epithet should make such broad generalizations from such slender premises as he does, they would consider his lecture as proving the inferiority of man. The lecture was designed to show that women ought not to vote; the epigrammatic phrase put forth as a title to the lecture was "Woman's right to be a woman." The *argument* was as follows:

Woman was originally, and is still, merely a rib-piece; therefore she must not assume the possession nor attempt the exercise of a head-piece.

Woman was taken from *under* man's arm; therefore she was, is, and is intended always to be *under* his protecting power and subject to his rule.

If the power, in any case, or any number of cases, does not choose to give the protection thus taken for granted, but substitutes tyranny therefor—that's a pity, but it does not alter the *argument;* the power over woman rightfully belongs to man, *because* the earliest legends of the Hebrew nation say so.

(Let me state here, parenthetically, some steps of the argument which Mr. Fulton passed over because his intelligent audience were already assured of them. We know that this portion of the Hebrew legends is accurately and literally true, because it was miraculously and infallibly inspired; and we know it was inspired, because the whole Hebrew nation agreed in thinking so. To be sure, this nation were never very good or very wise; but they were special favorites of Heaven—they positively assure us of it; they had the only true religion given to *them*, as a mark of this favor, they positively assure us of it; and thus we are to receive with implicit confidence their account of their true religion, though we believe in a radically different true religion and are trying to convert them to it.)

If any doubt remained respecting the great truth that women ought not to vote—after the Hebrew theory of her rib-origin—that truth is clenched and rivetted by the corroborative fact that a very eminent Jew of later times confidently asserted that "it is a shame for women to speak in the church"—which of course shows that it is a shame for her to vote in the State, and shows also that men have no right to yield this to her as a right.

Mr. Fulton claimed that he had made a complete Scriptural demonstration of the folly, error, and evil of the sort of ideas taught as "Women's Rights," and the large audience seemed to agree with him.

The second of the two lectures I have mentioned was given by Timothy Titcomb (otherwise called Dr. Holland) of Springfield. He is a very pleasant and persuasive speaker, being, in voice, tone, style and manner, the very antithesis of the ranting parson of the Temple. The lecture was a melodious flow of polished language, commanding the entire attention of the large assembly, and showing no extravagance except in its substance.

The speaker first drew a funny picture of the sad condition to which philanthropists would be reduced if, after having lost their subject of agitation by its success, they should find no other similar pretext for keeping themselves before the public. This, however, was not the condition of *our* philanthropists. The subject of slavery, to be sure, about which they had been making a fuss for the last quarter of a century, had now slipped through their fingers, but there was no want of pet grievances suitable for their purpose. So he made merry for a while with the idea of interfering against cruelty to animals and some other prevailing vices, and then brought up the movement called "Women's Rights," as the chief one to which those absurd people, the philanthropists, had now devoted themselves.

After dilating, in a strain of mild ridicule, upon the fact that new rights were claimed for women not by the mass of women themselves, but by others for them, our Timothy, with ludicrous unconsciousness, proceeded to explain the wishes and needs of women, and to affirm *for women*, as the slaveholders always used to do for their slaves, that they neither needed nor desired more freedom! It would be *rather* more satisfactory to hear the testimony of *Mrs.* Timothy upon that point, but there is small chance of our getting it if the Doctor carries into practice his idea of family government. He proceeded to describe, and to oppose, the two principal claims made in behalf of women, the claim for wider scope of employment, with the view of self-support, and the claim of suffrage.

In regard to the claim that women should have a larger choice of occupations, he first confidently asserted her physical unfitness to exercise the majority of those which men now monopolize. The stronger sex should take those employments which specially require strength and endurance. [N. B. He forgot to suggest that the laborious business of washing and ironing should be performed by men.] He then made a pathetic appeal to young women, begging them to refrain from demanding new employments, and even from taking too large a portion of those kinds of business (retail clerkships, etc.) which young men already share with them, because—listen to his "exquisite reason"—because every girl who took such a place kept a young man out of it, and that young man, if he had that place, might marry her, or one of her sisters!

Timothy's argument and rhetoric were so exclusively intended for marriageable women, that he did not hesitate to raise a laugh among the baser part of his audience by a contemptuous mention of those "old girls" who had passed beyond the expectation of matrimony. To the former class he held up marriage as the chief object of desire and pursuit in their earthly existence, and seemed to think that *they* must think it such in their hearts, and that *any* husband must, in their eyes, and also in fact, be better for them than none.

"Christian marriage"—I have alluded above to his gross misuse of the word "Christian"—was the goal to which he wished to direct the desires and efforts of the young women who heard him. His language was beautiful, and his picture no doubt was attractive to those young women who did not look below the rhetorical surface. To such as attended to the *substance* of the lecture he made it very plain that *his* ideal husband was the man who said—"Husband and wife are one, and *I* am that one."

The husband, Timothy said (and said it with an air of asserting a truth at once obvious and indisputable), is the divinely appointed head of the Christian family, and the government of that family must be "patriarchal." This, be it remembered, was the term specially affected by slaveholders, as descriptive of their government, and Timothy probably often used it in his advocacy of their side against the meddlesome philanthropists of the quarter of a century preceding the rebellion. One will, Timothy assumed, must rule the "Christian family," even after its children shall have come to years of discretion, and that will is the husband's. The wife could not respect the man who did not rule her.

The same idea was put forth as the predominant and decisive one in the lecturer's opposition to female suffrage. The husband and wife walk, arm in arm, to the polls. But, oh, horror! suppose she favors the other side, and votes for the opposing candidate. In what attitude will they walk away again? What discord will thus be introduced into the "Christian family!"

Timothy's ideal of a husband is peculiar, and throws some light on his notion of Christianity. The model "Christian" husband, it seems, will not give his arm to his wife unless she votes his ticket. The women who wish to vote have never thought, so far as I know, of compelling their husbands to vote their way. They propose to act on the democratic idea, let opinion be freely expressed, and let the majority rule. But Timothy, after telling the young women that the only appropriate political act for each of them is to choose one man to represent her and take care of her interests for life, has the cool impudence to make it plain that this "representative" is to be a despotic ruler. Thought is free; the "Christian" husband cannot help himself there; but if the wife *expresses* a different opinion from his (by voting or otherwise) he is to fill the house with discord; he is to rage, and storm, and "break things," and make public and private manifestation of his displeasure until she shall yield. It must be so, for *his* yielding, even to any *just* claim on her part, is not in the programme. Suppose the reason, the conscience and the taste which God has been pleased to give her, require that she should hear a different minister, and a different doctrine, on Sunday, from those which he prefers. Of course, the "Christian" husband will maintain his rule, refuse her permission to hear them, and require her to sit in *his* pew; but might he not about as well be a Mohammedan husband?

Timothy's panacea for all possible troubles on the part of young women—as to the "old girls," their part in life is to furnish material for ridicule—is for each of them to choose one man to be her representative for life. It is a pretty idea, and yet no end of inconveniences will be found to attend the working of it in practice. Having chosen the right young man, the best in her knowledge, shall she ask him to marry her? Very possibly, his taste might lie in another direction, so that she would be obliged to choose again; and, very certainly, Timothy would upbraid her for unmaidenly conduct. No; before choosing, she must wait till she is asked; and her part, meantime, is to accomplish herself in the making of bread and puddings, and then wait, as patiently and prettily as she can, until some one offers himself as a candidate for the post of representative. But very possibly, again, he might not be to *her* taste. There are such things as stupid young men, vulgar young men, vicious young men. There are also men of unexceptionable manners and morals to whom, nevertheless, she feels no such attraction as would justify marriage. What is to become of the woman who is never asked by such a person as she would choose, or could *safely* choose? For this very large class, not only in our society, but in all civilized society, Timothy's panacea is valueless. Yet he has no other counsel for them. To them as to others, all he has to say is—Ply the broom and duster, be well up in the manufacture of bread and puddings, wait patiently and prettily, only, above all things, do not take any bread-earning occupation that any young man wants!

Then again—however little Timothy knows it—there are young women who think; who are intelligent and practical; who know the strength with which they hold to their own tastes, opinions, habits, methods, and who observe that others hold as strongly to theirs. Such an one, if the right person chances to ask her—and facts show us that this event is not a very common one—may look forward to marriage with great delight, and great expectation of enduring happiness, if there is to be fair companionship in the connection; if it is well understood that from day to day, and through life, each is really to consult, and strive to carry out, the *wishes* of the other. But will the intelligent young woman see her way clear to accept the candidate if she fully understands, from the beginning, that he is to be a husband of Timothy's sort? one who is not to be a partner but a ruler? one who is to *decide* in regard to all her interests, though his opinions of expediency, propriety, right and duty may turn out to be the very opposite of hers?

"Patriarchal" rule—the despotic domination over women which drove out Hagar and her child into the wilderness, and which imposed Leah as a wife upon the man who had courted her sister Rachel—belonged to a semi-barbarous age and people, and are absolutely incompatible with civilization and the nineteenth century; yet Timothy proposes to incorporate it with Christianity, without suspecting the incompatibility! This shows how little he knows about Christianity. But perhaps you have had enough of Timothy.

NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28, 1867.

IN a former letter, written immediately after the election, I spoke of a meeting that had been called to sustain Grant for the Presidency. Several others of a similar nature have followed. People outside of our city may infer that these numerous ward meetings are an outgrowth of popular sentiment; that they denote the will and typify the convictions of the multitude. They may conclude that a wide-spread enthusiasm inspires them, and that they are the spontaneous issue of a great public demand. But this is not the case. They are but the flowering of political management. The movement was initiated by the politicians, and among the names attached to the various calls, conspicuously appear such as have become familiar to the eye by their inevitable connection with our local offices. These office brokers, political mongers, party jobbers, or whatever may properly designate them, are the salt and seasoning of the movement. Those who ascribed the late defeat of their party to the black man, and who declare that henceforth they will cease to recognize him, are in full and active fellowship with this Grant enterprise. By reason of this circumstance, what character impresses it? Have such men a right to expect sympathy for their project on the part of earnest believers in justice, and all that is comprised in genuine republicanism?

So far as I am able to observe, the instigators of this movement care more for party success than for the triumph or vindication of a principle. Expediency is of primary moment in their philosophy. Whatever issue comes athwart the path of availability, is either ignored or suppressed. They fail to awaken enthusiasm, and neither deserve nor receive the co-operation of men that have a higher regard for principles, and care less for idle hero worship.

To the surprise of many of his friends, Judge Kelley announces himself in favor of Grant as the Republican candidate. In his speech it is very apparent that the idea of availability is uppermost. He labors to show that Grant's position and views coincide with his own. But his fragmentary evidence is unsatisfactory, and leans too much upon conjecture. Absolute, unerring, unequivocal proof is wanting, and without this it is impossible to make thinking people believe that Judge Kelley and the *Press* are correct in their estimate of Grant's position. They tell us that he is in favor of impartial suffrage. But where is the undeniable proof? How is it that the eager politicians who cry Grant! Grant! declare, at the same time, that they must shake off from their garments the odor of the negro? They are not in favor of impartial suffrage, and the resolutions that they have put forth are sapless, bloodless things, destitute of moral force and genuine vigor, but permeated through and through with the very essence of cowardice.

The *Sunday Press* has ceased to be issued, and yesterday the first number of the *Sunday Republic* made its appearance. It is a Republican journal, and promises well. A good deal of enterprise is shown in its telegraphic news department, and the general tone of the paper is commendable. The editor announces that it will be "devoted *to the most advanced and decided Radical principles.*" He further says: "We claim to have at our command large resources and able co-operation, as our columns will prove. Our original contributions will be varied and vigorous, and every pains be taken to secure *the best* in every department. We shall strictly exclude from every column *anything* unfit for perusal in the family circle, and intend to make the *Sunday Republic* a high-toned, moral, earnest, and philanthropic journal. In short, we hope to issue a newspaper which shall take high ground on all social and moral questions, and meet with the cordial co-operation of all intelligent persons of progressive views."

We shall see how faithful an adherence will be given to this excellent position.

The day of our Convention and Festival will be but one week after the issue of the next STANDARD. The committees having charge of the different divisions of labor connected with the Festival are engaged in their work, and seeking to insure success to the worthy undertaking. Our friends have been urgently invited to contribute aid in some manner, and those at a distance, or who have not the opportunity to assist in any other way, will do well to send the price of two, three or half-a-dozen tickets. No sum will go amiss, or fail to accomplish its good effect in the general result. Above all, let it be said to those in this vicinity, no effort should be spared to fill Horticultural Hall with overflowing numbers. Let Mr. Phillips address the largest audience that ever assembled in Philadelphia to listen to his voice of eloquence and wisdom. Speak to your neighbors and invite them to go, especially those who need a little more light. Grand and beneficent will be the influence of a great meeting here, and to the good cause we are aiming to promote, precious benefit will be rendered.

The *Morning Post*, our new and spirited Radical daily, is nobly marching on. Each morning it greets us with some fresh proof of its liberal and praiseworthy standpoint, and commends itself to the favor of all adherents of sound principles. The following editorial item gladdens our sight in to-day's issue:

"Wendell Phillips was right when he said the Anti-Slavery Society should not be abandoned because the system of slavery was abolished, but should redouble its efforts till the spirit of slavery was dead. Have not Andrew Johnson, the New Orleans massacre, the recent elections, all justified his opinion? In another column we print the announcements of the November meetings of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, and ask every reader of the *Morning Post* to sustain the movement. The ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD deserves the support of every friend of freedom, and this is the time to help it.

Mr. Phillips's presence at the meetings will be no ordinary attraction, and we are heartily glad that he will speak in Philadelphia. That there is no man in America more eloquent and impressive is not merely because of his superb oratorical powers, but because of his perfect sincerity and moral courage. Give Mr. Phillips a conservative theme, and he would not be nearly so effective. But he dares to speak all that he believes, spares neither party nor men, and even those who differ with his opinions should be proud of the man who utters them. Had Wendell Phillips chosen to sacrifice his independence, there is no office in the gift of the people to which he might not have aspired; but the glory of absolute honesty was dearer to him, and he will be remembered with the men who were truly great, when Senators and Presidents are forgotten."

Unbounded success to the *Morning Post!* At the meeting of the Festival Committee this afternoon a vote of thanks was cordially and unanimously tendered to the Editor for his notice of our meetings. We earnestly hope that our friends here will bestow the patronage it so worthily merits.

Mrs. F. E. Watkins Harper will lecture this evening in Liberty Hall in behalf of the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Society. Her subject will be "Reformers and Reformations."

W.

LETTER FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS., Oct. 22, 1867.

MASSACHUSETTS is exercised on the license question just now, and the November election will be the most exciting one held in the old Bay State since the days of coalition. The old, staid temperance people have not generally been very active for some time in political movements, and the new secret liquor league, the members of which style themselves "P. L. L.'s," have generally carried the primary meetings and nominated candidates favorable to license. To do this they kept out of sight until the meeting of the caucuses, when they went in as Republicans and carried things their own way. The temperance wing of the party begin to see where they have been caught napping, and are now nominating independent candidates for Senators and Representatives. There will be no division for State or County officers. The vote for Governor will be as largely Republican as usual; but the Legislature will be politically what is termed decidedly "mixed." Its political complexion is hard to conjecture, as there is likely to be a new set elected from both the temperance and rum wings. The Democrats will nearly all go with the license men, while the better class of Republicans will cling to prohibition.

To the old Puritan element in Massachusetts "free rum" is decidedly obnoxious; but between the Democrats and the rum-drinking Republicans, it would not be at all surprising if a majority was elected who will favor a license law. Before there is a complete suppression of the sale of intoxicating drinks, there must be a conviction that the use of liquor is not necessary under any circumstances, neither as a medicine nor a beverage. That day is far distant; but the people are drifting that way. There are too many fair-weather temperance people in the State to make the present prohibitory law as effective as it should be; still, since the State constabulary went into operation, there has been less sale of liquor and less drunkenness than formerly. This, we suspect, is what has stirred up so much feeling with the liquor people just now. Too many of our professedly temperance people have gone for temperance for their neighbors and rum for themselves—taken at home, of course. But this sort of thing is fast coming to an end, and whoever is caught in this practice is put down as a hypocrite, as he really is.

The Springfield *Republican* goes for license, if for anything; and as it is the only daily paper in Western Massachusetts of any importance, the sentiment of this part of the State might be put down as very low on temperance, as well as politics. It, however, has very little influence, either for good or evil, as no one puts confidence in its opinions. It is read for its news, and not for its ideas.

Mrs. Lincoln's latest demonstration has created considerable comment in this State; but those who have known her are not surprised. We happen to know that her habit of charging State dinners to the government are not the only cases of eccentricity in that line. When she made her first shopping tour to New York, after becoming mistress of the White House, she laid in heavily for good clothes and fine jewelry, and then caused the bills to be charged to the government. To relieve her husband of embarrassment, his friends subscribed a sufficient sum to discharge the obligations that she had incurred. Now, having no further use for so many fine clothes, she seems to think that her lamented husband's friends ought to take them off her hands; but she was mistaken in supposing that they would go into the "old clo'" business because she wanted to get up a new sensation. Her second-hand finery is not of the slightest account to the public, and she would certainly have done better if she had taken it down to Chatham street.

No woman in this country ever had the opportunity that did Mrs. Lincoln to make for herself a name that would endear itself to the hearts of the people, and live as long as time lasts; but, during the war, when the nation was in the deepest mourning, she was always found in scenes of the greatest hilarity, and the people have made up their verdict—"weighed and found wanting."

Yours, OCCASIONAL.

LITERARY.

WHITTIER'S POEMS. Complete. Diamond Edition.—Ticknor & Fields. Boston.

Every reader of THE STANDARD would clasp with delight this dainty little volume of Freedom's most loyal poet in America. It is almost a miracle of *multum in parvo.* Within its 395 double-columned pages are printed, complete, all the poems of the different volumes that have gladened the lovers of Liberty and Truth, and cheered the brave Anti-Slavery reformers in their Thirty Year's War (not yet ended) with the terrible Slave Power. Whittier has been pre-eminently the poet of *principle*, and as Mr. Emerson said the other evening in Music Hall, Boston, of the Orator of principle—"he is the great man, who always makes a divine impression, a sentiment more powerful in the heart than the love of country, and gives perceptions and feelings far beyond the limits of thought."

These small lids hold all the breathing, burning words of this high-inspired soul, from the first published "Mogg Megone" to the latest "Tent on the Beach." As we bring it into the family circle, one exclaims, "O, do let me see if the verses to Cousin H—— are in it!" "Yes, here they are, with the familiar lines;"

> "Not to ease and aimless quiet
> But to works of love and duty
> As our being's end"—

"And that poem about Nantucket and 'Goodman Macy'?" "Yes, here it is, too!" The lady guest from Portland says, "I bought a copy the other day for little Henry to know about 'Floyd Ireson, and his hard heart.'" "And I," said another, "want it especially for that poem with all New England in it, 'The Last Walk in Autumn.'" Eight years ago Mrs. T. first read it to us by our pic-nic fire at Englishman's River, on the coast of Maine, out of her treasured copy of THE STANDARD.*

Mr. T., with the enthusiasm of his pure mind and heart, warmly declared, "When I first heard that read, I wanted to put my arms right round Whittier's neck and kiss him!"

Here, too, is the hymn "*Ein festi burg ist unser Gott,*" which McClellan forbade The Hutchinson's to sing to the Army of the Potomac. "And is *Snow Bound* in with the rest?" asks "aunty," who read her Christmas-gift copy last year with tender tears. "To be sure it is!" And so one and another may go on, seeking and finding as never before in any single volume, all their favorite and familiar pieces. "Maud Muller," that school-girls love to recite, and "Barbara Frietchie" little Claytie used to declaim with such animation, and Nellie B. can repeat so prettily in her German home in Frankfort.

The price of this thrice welcome and available book is $1 25.

C. F. P.

* We shall reprint this charming piece in next week's STANDARD.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS MINISTRY. A Discourse by Rev. Samuel J. May. Fifty-two pages. Syracuse, N. Y.

One of the most useful among the elder clergymen of his generation is the Rev. Samuel J. May. Having reached the age of "three score years and ten," he preached a discourse to his congregation in Syracuse, N. Y., on the 15th of September, in which he reviewed his labors as a minister, and, at the close, tendered to his Society his resignation. At the request of his parishioners the discourse has been issued in neat pamphlet form. It will possess a peculiar interest to many readers beyond the limits of the several societies to which, as a clergyman, Mr. May has ministered. Though an earnest advocate of Channing-Unitarianism, he has always fraternized with all of any denomination, and of none, in all manner of good works. He has been pre-eminent among clergymen in his devotion to works of practical benevolence, for the redemption and elevation of the oppressed, the ignorant, the sorrowing and unfortunate. His words have had the power of a noble, unselfish life behind them, and have been largely fruitful in good results. His labor in the ministry dates back to 1821, when he commenced preaching as an associate of Dr. Channing. He soon thereafter settled in Brooklyn, Conn. He was first heartily enlisted, outside of his regular pulpit duties, in the cause of popular education. At one time principal of the Massachusetts State Normal School he has continued, through the eventful period which his forty-six years of ministerial labor covers, an active and an influential co-worker in the cause of education. As early as 1826 he embraced the cause of temperance upon the principle of total abstinence. In 1830 he espoused the anti-slavery cause, and spoke unequivocally in favor of immediate and unconditional emancipation. Later he became much interested in the question of Peace; also that of Woman's Rights; the wrongs of the Indians; the ignorance, waywardness and hardships of the Canal-boys; and the wants of orphans also received much attention from him. For a period of fourteen months he left his charge at Brooklyn to act as the General Agent and Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Subsequently he was settled for six years at South Scituate, Massachusetts; and next, in April, 1845, after two years at the head of the State Normal School, he went to Syracuse. Twenty-two years, or one half his labor in the ministry, he has expended in Syracuse. Connecticut, a good State to emigrate from, was by no means a promising field for his early labors. He mentions in the discourse of which we write, one interesting item. Referring to the case of Prudence Crandall, in which he bore a very honorable part, and to the lectures and anti-slavery meetings held through his instrumentality while at Brooklyn, he says: "The arguments that were made in Court in this case; the discussions to which it gave rise in the newspapers, and in the meetings of the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies; and the lectures that were delivered in almost every town, so instructed the people, and elevated their sentiments, that Windham has been, since 1833, the leading County in Connecticut on all questions pertaining to the Rights of Man. Last year, that county gave the largest, if not the only majority vote for *impartial suffrage*—the enfranchisement of colored men."

In this State, bringing with him the Massachusetts educational spirit and love of freedom, Mr. May has done much to create what we have in the way of Radicalism and to promote popular intelligence in the Central counties. His preaching contributed largely to make a "Jerry Rescue" possible in Syracuse at a time when such a proceeding signified much. He has never been very sharply aggressive, and sometimes we have thought, has been swayed in judgment somewhat too largely by the heart. But, full of human kindness, with transparent sincerity of purpose, always hospitable to the unpopular cause, seeking direction from his own sense of duty, rather than consulting the prejudices of his congregation, he has been a noble and praiseworthy exception to the general rule of American clergyman.

Harper's Magazine for November contains: The Mines of Santa Eulalia, Chihuahua, with illustrations; The Forest Fine, with an illustration; Personal Recollections of the War, illustrated; An Old Apple-Woman, with an illustration; A Daughter to Spare; Mary Wollstonecraft; The Hungry Heart; Our Man Barnabas; Poe at West Point; Calico; Blind People; The Cave of the Winds; wrecked at Sea; More of the Great Show at Paris; Another Weak-Minded Woman; Advent; Prints, Pictures, and Prices; Editor's Easy Chair, etc., etc.

It is said that a novel of stirring interest from the pen of Anna E. Dickinson will be published next Spring by a well-known Philadelphia firm.

The Rev. Mr. Nasby's new book, Ekkoes from Kentucky, will soon be published by Lee & Shepard of Boston.

Fifty thousand copies of Jean Ingelow's prose and poetical writings have been sold in the United States.

The Life and Letters of Madame Swetchine, a companion volume to Mme. Recamier, is to be shortly issued by Messrs. Roberts Brothers of Boston.

RECEIVED.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS—TWO CITIES. By Charles Dickens. Diamond Edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

DAY OF DOOM, poem by Michael Wigglesworth, 1862, reprinted from the sixth edition, 1775. New York: The American News Company.

THE TENANTS OF MALORY. By J. Sheridan Le Fanu. New York: Harper & Brothers. 176 pages.

SIR PAVON AND ST. PAVON. By E. Foxton, author of Herman; or Young Knighthood. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Blackwood for September. New York: Leonard, Scott Publishing Co.

Am. Phrenological Journal for November. New York: Fowler & Wells.

Harper's Bazar. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Littell's Living Age. Boston: Littell & Gay.

MUSICAL.

THE first Symphony Concert of Theodore Thomas', Fourth Season, was given on Saturday evening last at Steinway Hall. The orchestra numbered eighty performers, and gave evidence of the most careful preparation and thorough drill. Madame Parepa, who was assigned a place in the programme, sung with a purity and richness of voice remarkable even for her.

The next Symphony Concert will be given the 7th of December, on which occasion Leopold De Meyer, the wonderful pianist, will also appear.

Mr. HARRISON'S Fourth Sunday Evening Concert drew a very large audience to Steinway Hall on Sunday evening last. De Meyer, Carl Rosa, and Madame Lumley, with Theodore Thomas' full orchestra, were in turn listened to with heartiest demonstrations of satisfaction and delight. Mr. Harrison announces a series of concerts with these distinguished artists, including Madame Parepa-Rosa, in Boston, Springfield, New Haven, and other New England cities.

Madame Parepa and De Meyer will both appear in the Sunday evening Concert at Steinway Hall, tomorrow evening.

FIRST Annual Meeting of the PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY, at Franklin Institute, Seventh street, above Chestnut, Philadelphia, Thursday, Nov. 7, 1867, at three and half-past seven o'clock p. m.

All persons, irrespective of religious or political belief, condition, sex or color, are invited to attend these meetings and unite with this movement, in earnest vindication of those great rights and truths, and that uncompromising justice, virtue, and morality which, through love to God and love to man, comprehend and subserve the cause of pure and perfect PEACE; and, as an essential means to an end, endeavor, by every moral principle and power, to correct and dethrone those false opinions and practices of anger, hatred, revenge, selfishness, and the like, which unavoidably engender contention and culminate in War.

Important propositions will be presented, and able speakers from various parts of the country have been invited to aid in their consideration.

Persons receiving this pamphlet, and desiring to become members or contributors to the Funds of the Society, may forward their names, address, and contributions to either of the Officers, or to a member of the Executive Committee.

GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Pres.

HENRY T. CHILD, M.D., Sec.
HENRY M. LAING, Treas. 30 N. Third st.,
ALFRED H. LOVE, LUCRETIA MOTT, JOS. M. TRUMAN, JR., and others, Ex.-Com.

THE MEDAL MUDDLE.—Had the Emperor supposed that his pet idea, the Exposition, would have been the cause of many disputes and so much wrangling among the contestants, there is a probability that he would have abandoned it altogether. Our two great piano-houses, long before the final awards were made, quarrelled as to who was mentioned first or second on the list, and then began the argument, which was the greater honor, to get the "first" gold medal or the decoration; until the Boston *Transcript* exclaimed with Shakspeare, "a plague on both your houses."

Two manufacturers of sewing-machines were next in the field, both claiming a gold medal, but both, at the same time, disputing the right of the other to such a prize—one saying that the award was only made for a certain special improvement; the accused in reply declaring the honor was bestowed on the other party as an inventor or promoter, and not as a manufacturer of the machine which bears his name. But while all this was going on, it seems that a third house silently watched all the proceedings, remained very quiet, and, conscious of its own strength, allowed the two competitors to call each other hard names; and now, that their fight is nearly over, and the combatants have spent considerable powder, it comes forth like a lion, places its paw on the bone of contention, and walks off with it victoriously. In other and plainer words, we have seen a copy of the official list of premiums, and find that *the representative of the Grover & Baker Machine* at the Paris Exposition, was decorated by the Emperor with the Cross of the Legion of Honor. This will, doubtless, surprise many who have read the statements published in our paper, and it throws a bombshell, as it were, in the camps of the other claimants; but it is a fact, nevertheless, and we are gratified to see the merits and excellent feautres of the GROVER & BAKER machine acknowledged abroad, as they have long been at home.—*Home Journal.*

Special Notices.

Wendell Phillips's

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WENDELL PHILLIPS is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

* NOTICE.—The colored people of the State of Pennsylvania will hold a Convention on the fifth day of November next at West Chester, in Horticultural Hall, to consult in relation to the Educational interests of the race, and for such other business as may come before the Convention. The Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice; the Hon. James W. Nye, U. S. Senator; the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Dr. William Longfellow, Prof. Green, and others, have been invited to address the Convention. By order of the Committee.

THE NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE FOR WOMEN will begin their Fifth Annual Term, of 20 weeks, at the College in 12th Street, two doors east of Fourth Avenue, the first Monday in November. Address the Dean, Mrs. C. S. LOZIER, M. D., 361 West 34th Street, N. Y., or the Secretary, Mrs. C. F. WELLS, care of Fowler and Wells, N. Y.

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I HAVE A LARGE LOT O

Miscellaneous Department.

ODE

SUNG IN THE TOWN HALL, CONCORD, MASS., JULY 4, 1857

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

O TENDERLY the haughty day
Fills his blue urn with fire;
One morn is in the mighty heaven,
And one in our desire.

The cannon booms from town to town,
Our pulses are not less,
The joy-bells chime their tidings down,
Which children's voices bless.

For He that flung the broad blue fold
O'er mantling land and sea,
One-third part of the sky unrolled
For the banner of the free.

The men are ripe of Saxon kind
To build an equal state,—
To take the statute from the mind,
And make of duty fate.

United States! the ages plead,—
Present and past, in under-song:
Go put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue.

For sea and land don't understand,
Nor skies without a frown
See rights for which the one hand fights
By the other cloven down.

Be just at home; then write your scroll
Of honor o'er the sea,
And bid the broad Atlantic roll,
A ferry of the free.

And, henceforth, there shall be no chain,
Save underneath the sea
The wires shall murmur through the main
Sweet songs of liberty.

The conscious stars accord above,
The waters wild below,
And under, through the cable wove,
Her fiery errands go.

For He that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in his plan,
Will take the sun out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man.

THE HOME OF CHARLES DICKENS.

IT was in a quiet street, near Regent's Park, in the West End of London—a neighborhood sought by people of cultivated tastes and moderate means. The neat brick house of two-and-a-half stories, with a curved front, was one of a row of residences of the same size and appointments, which were only not elegant for want of size. A velvety little grass-plat lay like a large green mat between the house and the street, from which last it was separated by a solid wall pierced by a well-locked gate.

Nothing so much strikes an American in England as these ever-present, tiresome stone walls and barred gates, which vigilantly guard every, even the meanest, house, as a banker's safe the valuables of its proprietor. These homes thus intrenched, are literal epitomes of English law—the "castles" where the owner may, but the king may not, enter—domestic towers, begirt with significant warnings of privacy. Here, shut in from intrusion or reach, are the richest treasures of an Englishman; amid which he retires and holds his court, whence all who are unbidden are kept far, far off, and where those who are invited share a welcome and cheer unknown in any other country, our own excepted—epitomes, too, are these—emphasized compendiums of English life—inside aglow with all the comforts which wealth can converge around itself—kept from the grasp and seizure of hungry, wolf-like need and crime, which prowl outside around the inclosure.

This neat, cottage-like house was Dickens's first home—then bright with the presence of a wife whom he had married after the first full burst of literary applause had come up from all England, as *The Sketches by Boz* and *The Pickwick Papers* appeared—the first home that he had made for himself. He had come up to London as a lad from his father's house at Portsmouth, that seaport where he had made the acquaintance of the Captain Cuttles, Jack Bunsbys, and other sailor characters, that move in his books with such vivid, flesh-and-blood reality. In London he had lived as a law student in various places, in such chambers and stow-away places as boys straggle into, who, alone in a large city, are left to themselves with little money, and with as little liking, perhaps, for the studies they are put to. Quitting, after a time, these studies, to him so uncongenial, and which were not quite wholly profitless, because they enabled him subsequently to carry on the great suit of *Bardell* vs. *Pickwick*, he betook himself to reporting police matters for the daily *True Sun* and *Morning Chronicle*, during which period he bestowed himself in such aerial places and quarters as those ill-paid scavengers and purveyors grope nightly to in London.

At last the sculpturesque delineations of underground life in the metropolis—the tireless, varied descriptions of its many-phased crimes—collected and grouped in a book, and illustrated by his friend Browne, had concentrated upon him public attention, and opened the cornucopia of the English reading-world, whose wide mouth has never since ceased to drop its full-weighted sovereigns into his lap. He married—mating, as he felt, thoroughly and well. Children came into that comfortable home with their romps and plays. The children of his imagination increased even more rapidly. No home in England was then happier—for it had every element that could make up the warm, rich threads which seemed inwoven so beautifully in the warp and woof of his intellectual, social, and domestic life. No name stood out more prominently among the most honored; no brain in England worked so happily—and so successfully—in its creations, and in pecuniary results.

In this house Dickens had lived since his marriage.

At the time of the visits of which I am now speaking, he was just preparing to make his hurried trip to this country—a trip comprised between January and June—cramming himself with all sorts of information to fit himself for observing and for writing the *American Notes*, which he was then under contract to produce within the coming eight months.

His study was piled with Marryatt's, Trollope's, Fidler's, Hall's, and other travels in and descriptions of America, and blazed with highly-colored maps of the United States, whose starring blues, reds, and yellows, so much in contrast with the colorless maps of Europe, greatly amused him.

"I could light my cigar against the red-hot State of Ohio," he said.

He was anxiously in quest of knowledge respecting this country; desiring to bring within the compass of his brief stay here, as wide a reach of space, and as great a variety of subjects as possible. He expressed his inability to go into the Gulf States, as his policy of life insurance forbade it—an interdict which he had, he said, in vain endeavored to remove.

Speaking of the character of the books which had been written by travellers in America, he remarked the general tendency to draw wide national conclusions from isolated exceptional facts—to charge the nation with the peculiarities of a few individuals met by chance on steamboats and railroad cars.

"There is a great temptation to give all the funny or dramatic incidents one meets in travel—to set out individual grotesqueness—single exaggerations as types—or if not ostentatiously to exhibit them, at least to leave them as types or indices of the average national character. I can go in almost any part of England and find people, scenes, classes, and conversations precisely like those exceptional cases set down as specimens of American life in general; and yet I know that while these exceptional cases are English, they might just as well and easily be found in Germany, Russia, America, or in any civilized part of the world." "No doubt," he continued, "there are types of character that take on a national hue and color. The Sam Slicks—the Western jokes and sayings in your newspapers—the large exaggerated expressions, taking the proportions of a continent, even then dealing with neighborhood or private matters—these are exclusively American—unmistakably belonging to the genus Yankee. Should you search through every variety of English literature, you could not match them."

"What strikes you in London?" he inquired; "for what impresses a stranger, are the peculiarities—the points that separate it, by contrast, from his own country. One may thus travel, without quitting his own house; for the main object of leaving the comforts of home is to learn the differences between those among whom one lives; the objects, architecture, the social features about you, and those of other nations. The comments of a German on England are the best descriptions of Germany. If you tell me how London strikes you, you mention wherein New York differs from it. What is common to the two, is neither New York nor London.

The vast masses of London were mentioned as arresting the attention of a visitor from a country then having no cities comparable with the English capital in size; and the stony indifference with which this mass, daily triturated in the same common mortar, regarded its composing atoms, was also remarked. "Yes, that must be so. In the country every man and horse is observed—the coats of both are known along the whole road. In a village, the appearance of a stranger is discussed at every tea-table. In a city where ninety-nine per cent. are strangers to everybody, people would as soon read the *Directory* as to stop and observe every new face they encountered."

The sharp contrasts of London life were mentioned; the existences of classes, which, in poverty, personal degradation, and obliteration of all moral features in their foul faces, were wholly unknown in our larger land. On this account, the visitor went on to say, it was difficult for an untravelled American to comprehend that the portraitures drawn in his works were transcripts of actual characters. What he read in-doors, life-like and breathing though it was, he never found out-doors in the streets, or under them. The question was then asked whether his characters were drawn from actual life, and whether the places and incidents in his novels were sketched from nature.

"In answering this question, I may say that I have never transferred any character or scene entire; but this I can aver, that there is scarcely a character or description, the nucleus and substantial body of which was not furnished from reality. I was a police reporter—perhaps you know. As such, and pursuing my own vagrant inquiries, I have been over every part—in almost every nook, alley and den in London; I have been through lanes—and such there are—which you could not pass through in broad day-light, with anything safe in your pockets; where I used to put my gloves and handkerchiefs in my hat, and took especial pains to keep my hat from being knocked off, as it certainly would have been had its contents been suspected. From the police officers, and these various rambles, I got very many outline hints. It is difficult always to tell where a particular character, as it is finally left, comes from. Of course it must be suggested by something seen, met, or read of; but in passing through the mental laboratory, its constituents are put together and colored so subtly and curiously that it is difficult to decompose the various elements."

Various topics were broached—frank and unrestrained allusions made to persons, living cotemporaries on both sides the water; and subjects, still unsettled into history, interplayed through the flitting phases of conversation. To draw these from the sheltering veil of private life, the law which I have prescribed to myself forbids.

Geniality, kindness of heart, and natural humor, which glinted out, just as a brook sings, marked Mr. Dickens's manner and conversation. One easily learned in looking into the depths of his black eyes, emitting a steady light or flashing a sudden glow over his face, then pale and marked in all its lines by deep sensibility, the source of that inspiration which lifts up lowly life, which hates and smites class injustice, and brands so incisively the sleek, self-complacency of well-fed social pride.

As he sat, chattily pouring out ready thoughts and shedding a sunny humor over them as these thoughts reached forward and down into philosophic generalization, or shimmered in genial play along topics momentarily started up and pleasantly dismissed, it was manifest that Dickens did not hoard up his mental jewels for his works. He has no need of such frugality. From his quick, prodigal mind he can afford to throw lavishly out the pearls which each new wave brings to the shore.

Nine years ago this home was destroyed. Its heads went forth from its shelter in different directions, each surrounded by some of the children—each holding tightly together lips which, as if closed by iron bands, then and since steadily refused to gratify the public curiosity as to the causes of that separation. Whatever were the elements which contributed to this sad termination of a union which stretched through twenty years, none who have partaken of the hospitalities of that home, can feel aught but the keenest sorrow and grief. No wreck of empire, no field of ruined columns strewn with friezes, capitals, and plinths, with emptied shrines and broken altars, is so touchingly, overwhelmingly sad. A home whence death draws some of its members to the silent churchyard, only lends new attractions for those who remain, towards the heavenly home, and only sheds a more tender sympathy and a deeper love among the survivors. But a home whence the inmates go—all living—with faces sternly averted, and at whose portals the angel plants the flaming sword, gathers around it all the gloom of a pagan burial; for the past is not, and there is no future.—*Hours at Home.*

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

THE following are the remarks of the Hon. Thos. J. Durant of Louisiana, at the late Social Science Convention at Cooper Institute:

I think that it is of the highest importance, that here, in this great commercial metropolis of America, there should be a society formed for the purpose of investigating the truths of social science. I do not think that it will be sufficient for the gentleman on my right (Mr. Skilton), and every lady and gentleman in this room, to examine those truths separately in their own chambers, and rest content with what they have done there. It is very necessary that all those capable of examing truths, and having the great interests of humanity at heart, should come together and compare their views. As long as a man does not institute a comparison between his own opinions and those of his fellow-men, he cannot be sure that he is correct; because, if the law of public opinion be not the unerring test, it is certainly the best we can get; and the only test we have of truth. Therefore, I think it necessary for us to come together and compare views, and from the mass of them endeavor to ascertain what truth and right really is. Is there such a thing as progress in society? Is there such a thing as a good and holy Providence, protecting the march of humanity on the globe? If we do not admit both of these things to be true, we have not commenced the study of social science, and we do not know that humanity has any destiny at all. I believe that humanity on this continent is tending toward the highest individual happiness, and I believe that society and its members should hang down their heads in shame where there is one single individual in it that is unhappy. (Applause.) God gave us, socially, to happiness, and to happiness in this world; and though we are to enjoy happiness in this world, no matter with what probation, it is intended, no doubt, to prepare us for another, that the practical duties are set before us. Man has need of his fellow-beings, either to bless him or to do him good. We have need of our fellow-beings, as we fondly and firmly believe, to do them good. The first question that strikes you in society is the condition of the laborer, because in all societies nine-tenths must be laborers. In the South, with which I am so familiar, and another of whose citizens I am happy to see here to-day, we said that labor must be the slave of capital; that the individual man must be owned by his fellow-man; that by the ordination of God and the laws of society the whole man, during his whole life, belonged to some other man, who took all the work of his hands during his whole life. All that he took from him was the produce of his labor; his blood he did not shed; his flesh he did not want for food, and the essential idea of slavery, as it existed in the South, and as it has existed wherever it has had an existence, was that the produce of the labor of the individual during the whole term of his life belonged to him, whom the law and custom had pronounced to be his master and owner. There was an essential idea on which Slavery was based. It was not the fetter, because the fetter was not universally worn; it was not the lash, because the lash was not universally applied—that made slavery odious to the moral sense of mankind; but it was because that sacred thing called human labor, by which this planet is to be regenerated, was, in the case of the slave, owned by another man. That sacred right and duty of labor which man holds from his Creator alone, and which he is to exercise for his own benefit and the benefit of humanity—this relation to humanity and to God was taken from him and proclaimed to belong to another. That, in my judgment, always was the essential crime of slavery. Therein consisted its criminal character against humanity at large, against the individual man, and against God. That was the great error, the ruin and the crime of slavery; and when slavery was abolished, it was a great step in the progress of America and of humanity; because we did not understand the true method of abolishing it; because its opponents, on the one hand, were only *simplists*, if I may be permitted to coin a word, and because those who managed and controlled it, on the other hand, would not listen to reason; and on account of the errors of both we had to go through war, costing us three thousand millions of treasure and 500,000 lives to get rid of that error. And surely all who hear me will say that it was not the only one that ought to be abolished in the interests of humanity; and to do this without the expenditure of this vast treasure and this blood, to do it peacefully, by the aid of human intelligence, is what is meant by social science—to ascertain that and point it out to man, so that they can come to a fair and peaceful solution of the question which will meet with general acquiescence. In my judgment, Mr. President, as far as I am able to examine the subject, taking the condition of the laborer as the great test of society at every epoch of man's progress, the principle of owning labor—of one man being compelled, either by duty, or law, or custom, or contract, to work for another man, who will get the profits of his labor, whether that labor be by law, to be given for a whole lifetime, or for a year, or a month, or a day, or an hour—there is the essential principle of slavery (applause); and, therefore, the system of wages, although differing in degree, and not so great an outrage on humanity as the system of chattel slavery, is a product of the same essential evil; it is the handing over of the sacred right of labor, which man receives from God, to be controlled by some other man; and while in slavery it existed for the whole life of the laborer, and under the system of wages it exists but for the time of the contract, whether for a day, a week, or a month, its essential principle is the same, and will lead society to the same results. Some have dignified it by other names, but it is clear to those who study the question of human labor under the wages system, that it will inevitably come to the same results. Capital will go on enslaving labor, until the system of indirect servitude will be as oppressive and as intolerable to mankind as slavery is. If you have nothing but selfishness in the capitalist, and brutal ignorance in the hired laborer, you must have a renewal of the same frightful and exhausting struggle through which we have just passed. It is for this reason, having lived in the South, and having been a slave-owner, that I have come to the conclusion that the essential principle is the same under both systems; and it is the absolute need of humanity that both should be abolished. How is this to be done? It is necessary that we should have some means of examining and comparing opinions, and propagating truth, and for these reasons I signed the call for this meeting. Mr. Durant closed after briefly pressing the advisability of founding the proposed Society.

GARIBALDI.

GREAT SOULED! Benignant! Bravest of the Brave!
For Justice drawn full mighty is thy sword;
Yet brighter gleams and mightier is thy *word*,
Sounding its bugle-blast, old Rome to save,
So long of murdered Liberty the grave.
More potent thou in thy captivity,
To rally and to lead thine Italy,
Than her throned Monarch is—Napoleon's slave!
For though a prisoner in thine Island home,
Lo! from her hills and valleys, at thy call,
Her peasant soldiery spring to arms and come
In swelling ranks, determined, one and all,
That now the ANCIENT TYRANNY shall fall,
And dear Italia deck her Crown with ROME.

DAVID PLUMB.

MENDELSSOHN AND HAYDN.

HAYDN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS OWN LIFE.

THE London house of Longmans has published Lady Wallace's translation of "Letters of Distinguished Musicians," from Ludwig Noel's collections. The letters of Gluck, Haydn, P. G. Bach, Weber and Mendelssohn form the contents of this volume. The letters of Mendelssohn have not before been published. In one of them he says: "It may possibly be connected with my individuality, that in artistic works which have once captivated me, I cannot bear the slightest alteration, and I have had much controversy with musicians on this very subject; but it is a feeling I cannot conquer."

A letter from Hayln, addressed to a young lady, gives a short and simple sketch of his own life. It is followed by a biographical sketch taken from the Vienna *Journal of Fashion* for May, 1805, to which it was contributed by a correspondent who said that he had noted it down "from the lips of the simple-minded patriarch himself." Its recollections include more detail than is given in the letter, and some of it is very interesting:

"Haydn's father, a poor common wheelwright, had learned to play the harp during his travelling years at Frankfort-on-the-Main. On Sunday it was his custom to play over his songs, while Haydn's mother sang them. Even now (1805), seventy-two years afterwards, Haydn still knows almost all these songs by heart. As a child of five years, our Sepperl (little Joseph) used to sit beside his parents, and, taking a piece of wood in his right hand, scrape away at his left shoulder, pretending to play the violin. A schoolmaster from the neighboring little town of Hamburg, a distant relation of Haydn, was once present at a concert of this kind, and observed that little Joseph marked the time with great exactness. This seemed a good omen, and he advised the father to devote his boy to music. The father, who greatly venerated the church, earnestly wished to consecrate his son to this calling, and to learn music was one of the first steps towards it. In his needy condition he could not, however, afford to spend much on the education of his children. The more, then, was he rejoiced when the school rector of Hamburg took the little six year old Joseph with him, to instruct him in his school. Here Haydn was taght to read and write; he also received religious instruction, and appled himself to learn singing, the violin, the kettle-drum and other instruments. He used to say that he had cause to thank his schoolmaster, now in his grave, for having made him begin so many different things, though he got more blows than victuals from him.

"Haydn had been about two years in Hamburg when the Court-Capellmeister Reutter, who also directed the music of St. Stephen's Church in Vienna, came to visit his friend the dean, in Hamburg. Reutter told the dean that he must try to replace some of his former choir-boys, who were beginning to lose their voices, and that he was in search of new ones. The dean proposed little Haydn, at that time eight years old, and Reutter immediately sent for him and his schoolmaster. Haydn, according to the custom of the day, and for the sake of cleanliness, wore a bob wig, and his dress was as poor as possible. 'I was a queer little urchin,' says Haydn himself. There happened to be some cherries on the dean's table; the scantily-fed Haydn could not take his eyes off them. Reutter, who observed this, gave him several handsfull in his hat, and made him sing some Latin and Italian strophes, the meaning of which Haydn did not in the least understand. Reutter seemed satisfied, but asked him if he could execute a shake? 'No!' answered Haydn; 'Nor can my cousin here either.' The schoolmaster looked annoyed, and Reutter burst out laughing. Reutter then showed him how to press his tongue against his teeth, and gave him many other hints. Haydn imitated him, and succeeded, at the third attempt. 'You shall remain with me,' said Reutter; and thus Joseph Haydn, at the age of eight, became a chorister-boy in St. Stephen's Church in Vienna.

"Here he was instructed by first-rate teachers in singing and in different instruments, as well as in the theoretical part of music. He also heard a great many fine musicians, and his own fancy was already so fertile that he even attempted eight and sixteen part composition. 'At that time,' says he, 'I thought it was all right if the paper was well filled. Reutter gave me many a hearty scolding for my unripe productions, and lectured me for attempting sixteen-part when I did not even understand two-part composition.' When Haydn was sixteen, he received his discharge from the choir of St. Stephen's Church, his voice having given way. He contrived to maintain himself, though poorly enough, during a succession of years in Vienna. He lived in a sixth story, and his room in the garret had neither stove nor window; in winter his breath froze on the coverlet, and the water that he fetched himself from the spring in the morning for washing was frequently changed into lumps of ice before his arrival in these elevated regions. Haydn gave lessons and played in orchestras, by which he earned something, but his poverty estranged him from other people, and his sole happiness consisted in an old worm-eaten piano. He continued to compose bravely on it, nevertheless, for his genius would not let him rest. He gave lessons in singing and playing to a certain Fräulein Martinez, a connection of Metastasio (the celebrated poet), and in return he boarded with her gratis for three years. Subsequently he removed to the Vorstadt. At this period he received sixty guineas a year for conducting the music at the 'Brothers of Mercy,' in the Leopoldstadt, which obliged him to be in church at eight o'clock in the morning on Sundays and fete-days; at ten o'clock he played the organ in Count Haugwitz's chapel, and at eleven o'clock he sang in St. Stephen's Church, this religious service being paid by seventeen kreutzers."

WOMEN AS TELEGRAPHERS.

A LARGE field of labor is open to intelligent women as telegraphers. In this profession at least as good pay and as much independence is found as in any other employment. There are about thirty women engaged at this work in this city, mainly by the American Telegraph Company. They are all of good social position, and generally well educated. They occupy a separate room in the building No. 145 Broadway, and have entire charge of the city department. Nineteen women are here employed, with a manager of their own sex, and every part of the business is conducted by them. Eighteen Morse machines are in operation, and from eighteen hundred to two thousand messages are sent daily. All the accounts are kept by women, and even the repair of the wires is under their charge.

Their salaries vary from $30 per month for beginners to $55 and $60 for first class operators. The managers get $100, but there are only two of these. In point of skill they are equal to men, yet the latter receive on an average $75, and four have $118 a month. Male managers receive $145 and $160.

The time required for learning the art of telegraphing is usually one year, though some have acquired it in three months. The hours of labor are from nine to six, and from the amount of business done the operators are constantly engaged. None of these ladies have ever had any previous business experience, yet all their accounts and papers are kept in the most orderly manner. The prejudice against labor is seen here as elsewhere; we are told that some operators are ashamed to acknowledge their calling. On the other hand a case is mentioned of a lady, not compelled to earn her living, who voluntarily and from a spirit of independence, learned the art of telegraphing and practiced it with success.

A branch office has been established for nearly three years at No. 136 Pearl street, which is managed entirely by women, and their success is probably as fair an illustration of the business capacity of the sex, as anything in the country. Several ladies, with their manager, Mrs. E. D. Lewis, conduct the entire business—receiving and forwarding dispatches, keeping books, a cash count, and managing half a dozen messenger boys. Since their establishment not a single complaint has been found against their management. The business of the office has increased rapidly, and in the number of despatches sent and amount of cash receipts, it stands first among all the branch offices in the city.

We are told that they have had some difficulties to contend with, and have incurred considerable opposition from men employed in other offices. As, however, they have never given any real cause of complaint, but have always attended promptly and carefully to their business, this opposition has been of no avail. The general public have been quite as willing to do business with them as with men, and have always shown them the courtesy they deserve.

One hundred and sixty women are employed as telegraph operators in London alone. Throughout the United States many small offices are worked by women, and in Boston their services have been in requisition for many years past in the railway telegraph offices and at the central stations.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

LIFE IN THE SOUTHWEST.

THE PINE WOODS AND POOR WHITES OF LOUISIANA.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Rochester *Express* gives a lively sketch of the pine woods regions in Louisiana, and of the "poor whites" who inhabit them. He writes:

"Away up in the piny woods—almost out of civilization, and almost among full-blooded barbarians—in the land where school-houses and churches are unknown, but where poor whiskey, besotted ignorance, treasonable lawlessness, and malignant hatred of everything that savors of 'the Yanks' abound—your correspondent finds himself this bright, beautiful morning acting in the double capacity of a government official and an organizer of the great Republican party. This is the great pine region of the State, and is prolific in that production alone. For miles and miles naught can be observed but these tall trees, stretching their limbs to heaven and singing a mournful requiem as the wind plays through their evergreen branches.

"The inhabitants are but few, and they are clustered together in little gatherings that can hardly be dignified with the name of villages; while their occupation is milking and attending to their herds of goats and cows, hunting the deer and wild hog, and haunting the village grocery, where mostly they do congregate, and where generally they will be found guzzling 'red eye,' abusing the Yanks, and talking over 'the crops' and prospects. They are a class familiarly known as the 'piny woods poor whites,' and are about as low in the scale of humanity as it is possible for mankind to reach. The females dip snuff, chew and smoke tobacco, and eat dirt—a compound of vile habits that induces a physique suggestive of mummies rather than human beings. The latter vice, that of eating dirt, is common to all classes, and begets emaciation, idiocy, and a complexion the color of the food. Ignorance predominates in every direction. They raise a little corn, just enough for 'dodgers,' which, with milk and bacon, constitute their food—no fruit, no vegetables, nothing in this land that, with a little labor, might be made to teem with plenty, but 'hog and hominy.'

"It has been my lot to travel pretty thoroughly over the Southern country, but never before have I seen such a lamentable state of demoralization and ignorance as I find in this pine wood region. And yet they are all secessionists, and detest labor and laboring men, and uphold slavery. All that is human of humanity has been educated out of them, until they have become the lowest possible type of their race. Talk to them of the possibilities of labor in the fruitful country, and they hiss out the reply, 'Oh you 'uns are Yanks yer sich are used to workin'; we are Southerners; our niggers do our work'—and in truth they do. The freedmen are the only inhabitants of this section who are at all aboveboard, as the only plantations that I have seen over an extent of fifty miles of country were carried on by colored men."

HUMILITY.

THE bird that soars on highest wing
Builds on the ground her lowly nest,
And she that doth most sweetly sing,
Sings in the shade when all things rest.
In lark and nightingale we see
What honor hath humility.

MONTGOMERY.

HARRY'S SERMON.—"Eddie," said Harry, 'let's play at going to church; and I'll be the minister, and preach you a sermon."

"Well," said Eddie, "and I'll be the people."

So they went up stairs together. Harry set an old fire screen up in front of him, by way of a pulpit, and thus began:

"My text is a very short and easy one—'Be kind.' There are some little texts in the Bible on purpose for little children; and this is one of them. These are the heads of my sermon:

"Firstly. Be kind to father, and don't make a noise when he has a headache. I don't believe you know what a headache is, but I do. I had one once, and I didn't want to hear any one speak a word.

"Secondly. Be kind to mother, and don't make her tell you to do a thing more than once. It is very tiresome to say, 'It is time for you to go to bed,' half a dozen times over.

"Thirdly. Be kind to baby."

"You have left out 'Be kind to Harry,'" broke in Eddie, forgetting that he was "the people."

"Yes," said Harry, "I don't mean to mention my own name in my sermons. I was saying—be kind to little Minnie; and let her have your red soldier to play with, when she wants it.

"Fourthly. Be kind to Jane, and don't scream and kick when she washes and dresses you."

Here Eddie looked a little ashamed, and said: "But she pulled my hair with the comb."

"People mustn't talk in church," said Harry.

"Fifthly. Be kind to kittie, and do what will make her purr, and don't do what will make her scratch and squeak."

"Isn't the sermon nearly done?" asked Eddie; "I want to sing;" and without waiting for Harry to finish his discourse, or to give out a hymn, he began to sing; and so Harry had to stop; but it was a very good sermon after all. Don't you think so?

A HUMOROUS PARTNERSHIP.—The Washington correspondent of the worcester *Spy* gives currency to the following bit of literary gossip:

"Thomas Nast, the artist who designed Harper's cartoons, and Nasby have entered into an alliance. It is reported that the Harpers have lately declined some of the best things Nast has ever drawn. He had a superb cartoon about Davis's release refused. This makes him naturally anxious for another outlet. One of the ventures is a political and humorous periodical issued irregularly as events may determine. Nasby will with others write the letter-press, and Nast do the designing. His genius is equal to the task. Satirical lives of distinguished Americans are to be issued. That of Jeff. Davis is being prepared. Other matter is also projected with a purpose to shoot political folly as it flies."

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For DYSENTERY or DIARRHŒA, but one mild dose is generally required.

For RHEUMATISM, GOUT, GRAVEL, PALPITATION OF THE HEART, PAIN IN THE SIDE, BACK and LOINS, they should be continuously taken, as required, to change the diseased action of the system. With such change those complaints disappear.

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